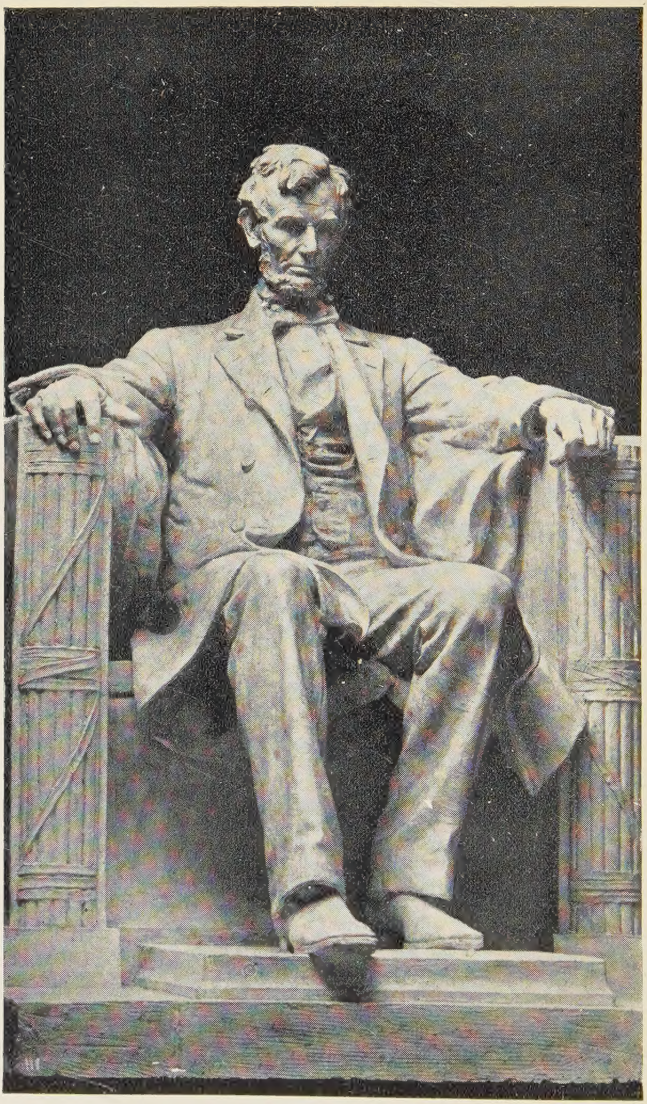
AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

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Statue of Lincoln by Daniel Chester French

An AUTOBIOGRAPHY *of*

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Consisting of the Personal Portions of his Letters Speeches and Conversations

Compiled and Annotated by

NATHANIEL WRIGHT STEPHENSON



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TO

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

Dear Professor Hart:

Though so many years are gone, alas! since it was my regular habit to submit to you all my "findings," the impulse to do so has that imperishable foundation which belongs to all delightful things established in the Golden Age. What a number of us, who, if we subtracted from our "technique"—as the pompous ones like to say—all that we owe to you, would have at best such a doubtful remainder!

I hope you will think well of this attempt to show Lincoln's development through a mosaic of his literary remains. A word as to how and why. It would be a fault in candor, as well as a lack of graciousness, not to acknowledge, first of all, the model—that skilful volume upon Napoleon, "The Corsican," compiled by the late R. M. Johnson. Will you question the one serious departure from Johnson's method, the admission—sparingly, please observe—among the written fragments of a few anecdotes? How else could Lincoln's humor be introduced? How else get round that singular fact, the disappearance of his humor the moment almost he took pen in hand? Then, too, do not these personal bits preserve his quaint homeliness, persistent in the man to the end though it faded eventually from his papers as their stateliness came in? Of course, one is sadly conscious of the obviously apochryphal character of so many Lincoln anecdotes. To be a peg for fools to hang stories upon, especially broad stories, is already part of his ironic fate.

You will find that no substantial liberties have been taken with the papers. A few imperative ones only—such as altered punctuation when the biographical bits of a document have been spliced together; the dropping of allusions to passages not retained; once in a while, placing a passage not at the date when it was written, but at the date to which it refers; et cetera. And is not the appended matter quite necessary to establish connecting links?

But why discuss what you will perceive at a glance and judge with finality?

Because of your unfailing interest in the promising younger men you may care to know that some of the best bits that follow, including the letter to Chase of June 20, 1859, were discovered by my former student, Mr. A. Howard Meneely, now of New York University.

Always gratefully,

Nathaniel Wright Stephenson.

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N. W. S.

AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY *of* ABRAHAM LINCOLN

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1809-1836

February 12th, 1809. I was born February 12, 1809, near where Hogginsville (Hodgenville) now is, then in Hardin County, Kentucky, at a point within the now county of La Rue, a mile or a mile and a half from where Hodgen's Mill now is. I know no means of identifying the precise locality. It was on Nolin's Creek.

My parents were both born in Virginia, of undistinguished families—second families, perhaps I should say. My mother, who died in my tenth year, was of a family of the name of Hanks, some of whom now reside in Adams, and others in Macon County, Illinois. My paternal grandfather, Abraham Lincoln, emigrated from Rockingham County, Virginia, to Kentucky about 1781 or 1782, where a year or two later he was killed by the Indians, not in battle, but by stealth, when he was laboring to open a farm in the forest. His ancestors, who were Quakers, went to Virginia from Berks County, Pennsylvania. An effort to identify them with the New England family of the same name ended in nothing more definite than a similarity of Christian names in both families, such as Enoch, Levi, Mordecai, Solomon, Abraham, and the like.*

My father, at the death of his father, was but six years of age, and he grew up literally without education. By the early death of his father, and the very narrow circumstances of his

*Subsequent genealogical labors have established the connection which Lincoln thought did not exist.

mother, even in childhood he was a wandering laboring-boy, and never did more in the way of writing than bunglingly to write his own name.

1813. Thomas Lincoln takes a farm on Knob Creek.

1813. The place on Knob Creek I remember very well. My earliest recollection is of the Knob Creek place.

1814. Before leaving Kentucky, I and my sister were sent, for short periods, to A B C schools, the first kept by Zachariah Reney, the second by Caleb Hazel.

1815. With weapons no more formidable than hickory clubs Austin Gallaher and I had been playing in the woods and hunting rabbits. After several hours of vigorous exercise we had stopped to rest. After a while I threw down my cap, climbed a tree, and was resting comfortably in the forks of two limbs. Below me stretched out full length on the grass was Austin apparently asleep. Beside him lay his cap, the inside facing upward. In the pocket of my little jacket reposed a paw-paw which I had shortly before found. The thought suddenly occurred to me that it would be great fun to drop it into Austin's upturned cap. It was so ripe and soft I could scarcely withdraw it whole from my pocket. Taking careful aim I let it fall. I had calculated just right; for it struck the cap center and I could see portions of soft yellow paw-paw spattering in every direction. I paused to observe the result, convinced that Austin would resent the indignity; but, strange to relate, the proceeding failed to arouse him. Presently I slid down the tree, but judge of my surprise on reaching the ground when I learned that, instead of sleeping, Austin had really been awake; and that while I was climbing the tree he had very adroitly changed caps, substituting my own for his, so that, instead of tormenting him as I was intending, I had simply besmeared my own headgear.

1816. Our farm was composed of three fields which lay in the valley surrounded by high hills and deep gorges. Sometimes when there came a big rain in the hills the water would come down the gorges and spread over the farm. The last thing I remember of doing there was one Saturday afternoon; the other boys planted the corn in what we called the "big field"—it contained seven acres—and I dropped the pumpkin seed. I dropped two seeds every other hill and every other row. The next Sunday morning there came a big rain in the hills; it did not rain a drop in the valley, but the water, coming down through the gorges, washed ground, corn, pumpkin seeds and all clear off the field.

I can remember our life in Kentucky; the cabin, the stinted living, the sale of our possessions, and the journey with my father and mother to Southern Indiana. We removed to what is now Spencer County, Indiana, in the autumn of 1816, I then being in my eighth year. This removal was partly on account of slavery, but chiefly on account of the difficulty in land titles in Kentucky.

Thomas Lincoln and his family settle on uncleared land, near Pigeon Creek, not far from Rockport, Indiana.

Autumn, 1816. We settled in an unbroken forest, and the clearing away of surplus wood was the great task ahead. I, though very young, was large of my age, and had an ax put into my hands at once; and from that till within my twenty-third year I was almost constantly handling that most useful instrument—less, of course, in plowing and harvest seasons.

February, 1817. Our new home was a wild region with many bears and other wild animals still in the woods. There I took an early start as a hunter, which was never much improved afterward. A few days before the completion of my eighth year, in the absence of my father, a flock of wild tur-

keys approached the new log cabin, and I with a rifle-gun, standing inside, shot through a crack and killed one of them. I have never since pulled a trigger on any larger game.

It was pretty pinching times at first in Indiana, getting the cabin built, and clearing for the crops, but presently we got reasonably comfortable.

October 5th, 1818. My mother died.

1819. I was kicked by a horse and apparently dead for a time.

December 2nd. My father married Mrs. Sally Johnston, at Elizabethtown, Kentucky, a widow with three children by her first marriage. She proved a good and kind mother to me.

1820. There were some schools, so called, but no qualification was ever required of a teacher beyond "readin', writin', and cipherin'," to the rule of three. If a straggler supposed to understand Latin happened to sojourn in the neighborhood, he was looked upon as a wizard. There was absolutely nothing to excite ambition for education. . . . I went to A B C schools by littles, kept successively by Andrew Crawford, Sweeney, and Azel W. Dorsey. I do not remember any other. I now think that the aggregate of all my schooling did not amount to one year.

(In a copy book)

Abraham Lincoln, his hand and pen,
He will be good, but God knows when.

1821 (?). Among my earliest recollections I remember how, when a mere child, I used to get irritated when anybody talked to me in a way that I could not understand. I can remember going to my little bedroom, after hearing the neighbors talk of an evening with my father, and spending no small part of the night trying to make out what was the exact meaning of some of their, to me, dark sayings.

I could not sleep, although I tried to, when I got on such a

hunt for an idea, until I had caught it; and when I thought I had got it I was not satisfied until I had repeated it over and over again, until I had put it in language plain enough, as I thought, for any boy I knew to comprehend.

One day a wagon with a lady and two girls and a man broke down near us, and while they were fixing up, they cooked in our kitchen. The woman had books and read us stories. I took a great fancy to one of the girls; and when they were gone I thought of her a great deal, and one day, when I was sitting out in the sun by the house, I wrote out a story in my mind. I thought I took my father's horse and followed the wagon, and finally I found it, and they were surprised to see me. I talked with the girl and persuaded her to elope with me; and that night I put her on my horse, and we started off across the prairie. After several hours we came to a camp; and when we rode up we found it was the one we had left a few hours before, and we went in. The next night we tried again, and the same thing happened—the horse came back to the same place; and then we concluded that we ought not to elope. I stayed until I had persuaded her father to give her to me. I always meant to write that story out and publish it, and I began once, but I concluded that it was not much of a story. But I think that was the beginning of love with me.

Away back in my childhood, the earliest days of my being able to read, I got hold of a small book, Weems' *Life of Washington*. I remember all the accounts there given of the battle-fields and struggles for the liberties of the country, and none fixed themselves upon my imagination so deeply as the struggle at Trenton, New Jersey. The crossing of the river, the contest with the Hessians, the great hardship endured at that time, all fixed themselves on my memory more than any single Revolutionary event. I recollect thinking then, boy even though I was, that there must have been something more than common that these men struggled for.

1824. I was raised to farm work, which I continued till I was twenty-two.

Spring, 1827. He undertakes to run a ferry across the Ohio, sixteen miles from home.

Summer, 1827. I was contemplating a new flatboat, and wondering whether I could make it stronger or improve it in any particular, when two men came down to the shore in carriages with trunks, and looking at the different boats singled out mine, and asked: "Who owns this?" I answered, somewhat modestly, "I do." "Will you," said one of them, "take us and our trunks out to the steamer?" "Certainly," said I. I was glad to have the chance of earning something. I supposed that each of them would give me two or three bits. The trunks were put on my flatboat, and the passengers seated themselves on the trunks, and I sculled them out to the steamer.

They got on board, and I lifted up their heavy trunks and put them on deck. The steamer was about to put on steam again, when I called out that they had forgotten to pay me. Each of them took from his pocket a silver half-dollar and threw it on the floor of my boat. I could scarcely believe my eyes as I picked up the money. I could scarcely credit that I, a poor boy, had earned a dollar in less than a day and that by honest work. The world seemed fairer and wider before me. I was a more hopeful and confident being from that hour.

1828. When I was nineteen, still residing in Indiana, I made my first trip upon a flatboat to New Orleans. I was a hired man merely, and I and a son of the owner, without any other assistance, made the trip. The nature of part of the "cargo load," as it was called, made it necessary for us to linger and trade along the sugar-coast, and one night we were attacked by seven negroes with intent to kill and rob us. We were hurt some in the *mêlée,* but succeeded in driving the negroes from the boat, and then "cut cable," "weighed anchor," and left.

February 12th, 1830. When I came of age I did not know much. Still, somehow, I could read, write, and cipher to the rule of three, but that was all. I was never in a college or academy as a student. What I have in the way of education I have picked up, from time to time under pressure of necessity.

March 1st. I, having just completed my twenty-first year, my father and family, with the families of the two daughters and sons-in-law of my stepmother, left the old homestead in Indiana and came to Illinois. Their mode of conveyance was wagons drawn by ox-teams, and I drove one of the teams. They reached the County of Macon and stopped there some time within the same month of March. My father and family settled a new place on the north side of the Sangamon River, at the junction of the timber land and prairie, about ten miles westerly from Decatur. Here they built a log cabin into which they removed, and made sufficient of rails to fence ten acres of ground, fenced and broke the ground, and raised a crop of sown corn upon it in the same year.

1830-1831. In the autumn all hands were greatly afflicted with ague and fever, to which they had not been used, and by which they were greatly discouraged, so much so that they determined on leaving the county. They remained, however, through the succeeding winter of the very celebrated "deep snow" of Illinois.

March, 1831. I, together with my stepmother's son, John D. Johnston, and John Hanks, yet residing in Macon County, hired ourselves to Denton Offutt to take a flatboat from Beardstown, Illinois, to New Orleans; and for that purpose were to join him—Offutt—at Springfield, Illinois, as soon as the snow should go off. When it did go off, which was about the first of March, 1831, the county was so flooded as to make traveling by land impracticable; to obviate which difficulty we purchased a large canoe, and came down the Sangamon River in it. This is the time and the manner of my first entrance into Sangamon County.

Summer. We found Offutt at Springfield, but learned from him that he had failed in getting a boat at Beardstown. This led to our hiring ourselves to him for twelve dollars per month each, and getting the timber out of the trees and building a boat at Old Sangamon town on the Sangamon River, seven miles northwest of Springfield, which boat we took to New Orleans, substantially upon the old contract.

July. New Salem. During this boat-enterprise acquaintance with Offutt, who was previously an entire stranger, he conceived a liking for me and believed he could turn me to account. He contracted with me to act as clerk for him on my return from New Orleans, in charge of a store and mill at New Salem, then in Sangamon, now in Menard County.

Autumn. For the first time, as it were, by myself, at New Salem. Here I rapidly made acquaintances and friends.

1832. After I was twenty-three and had separated from my father I studied English grammar—imperfectly, of course.

1832, early: Decides to become a candidate for the Legislature of Illinois.

(At a political meeting.) I presume you all know who I am. I am humble Abraham Lincoln. I have been solicited by many friends to become a candidate for the Legislature. My politics are short and sweet, like the old woman's dance. I am in favor of a national bank. I am in favor of the internal-improvement system, and a high protective tariff. These are my sentiments and political principles. If elected, I shall be thankful; if not, it will be all the same.

Makes his first attempt at formal literary expression—a statement of views upon local questions agreeable to almost all his community, coupled with a naive account of himself.

March 9th. (Address to the people of Sangamon County.) Fellow-citizens: Having become a candidate for the honorable

office of one of your Representatives in the next General Assembly of this State, in accordance with an established custom and the principles of true Republicanism, it becomes my duty to make known to you, the people whom I propose to represent, my sentiments with regard to local affairs.

Every man is said to have his peculiar ambition. Whether it be true or not, I can say, for one, that I have no other so great as that of being truly esteemed of my fellow-men, by rendering myself worthy of their esteem. How far I shall succeed in gratifying this ambition is yet to be developed. I am young, and unknown to many of you. I was born, and have ever remained, in the most humble walks of life. I have no wealthy or popular relations or friends to recommend me. My case is thrown exclusively upon the independent voters of the county; and, if elected, they will have conferred a favor upon me for which I shall be unremitting in my labors to compensate. But, if the good people in their wisdom shall see fit to keep me in the background, I have been too familiar with disappointments to be very much chagrined.

April. When the Black Hawk War of 1832 broke out, joined a volunteer company, and, to my own surprise, was elected Captain of it.

Went to the campaign, served near three months, met the ordinary hardships of such an expedition, but was in no battle.

April 28th. At Beardstown.

Received April 28, 1832, for the use of the Sangamon County company under my command, thirty muskets, bayonets, screws, and wipers, which I oblige myself to return upon demand.

(His company is marching in line toward a gate and he can not remember the proper command for "getting the company through the gate endwise.") So, as we came near the gate, I shouted, "The company is dismissed for two minutes, when it will fall in again on the other side of the gate."

In the days of the Black Hawk War I fought, bled, and came away. Speaking of General Cass's career reminds me of my own. I was not at Stillman's defeat, but I was about as near it as Cass was to Hull's surrender; and, like him, I saw the place very soon afterward. It is quite certain that I did not break my sword, for I had none to break; but I bent a musket pretty badly on one occasion. If Cass broke his sword, the idea is that he broke it in desperation; I bent the musket by accident. If General Cass went in advance of me in picking whortleberries, I guess I surpassed him in charges on the wild onions. If he saw any live fighting Indians it was more than I did, but I had a good many bloody struggles with the mosquitoes, and although I never fainted from the loss of blood, I can truly say that I was often very hungry.

June. In regard to the time David Rankin served, the enclosed discharge shows correctly—as well as I can recollect—having no writing to refer. The transfer of Rankin from my company occurred as follows:—Rankin having lost his horse at Dixon's ferry, and having acquaintance in one of the foot companies who were going down the river, was desirous to go with them, and one Galishen, being an acquaintance of mine, and belonging to the company in which Rankin wished to go, wished to leave it and join mine; this being the case it was agreed that they should exchange places and answer to each other's names—as it was expected we all would be discharged in very few days.

Comes up with his company just after the skirmish at Kellogg's Grove and buries the dead.

We rode up the little hill where their camp was. The red light of the morning sun was streaming upon them as they

lay heads toward us on the ground. And every man had a round red spot on the top of his head about as big as a dollar where the redskins had taken his scalp. It was frightful, but it was grotesque; and the red sunlight seemed to paint everything all over. One man had buckskin breeches on.

August 6th. Returning from the campaign, and encouraged by great popularity among my immediate neighbors, I ran for the Legislature and was beaten—my own precinct, however, casting its votes two hundred and seventy-seven for and seven against me—and that, too, while I was an avowed Clay man, and the precinct the autumn afterward gave a majority of one hundred and fifteen to General Jackson over Mr. Clay.

Autumn. I was now without means and out of business but was anxious to remain with my friends who had treated me with so much generosity, especially as I had not elsewhere to go. I studied what I should do—thought of learning the blacksmith trade—thought of trying to study law—rather thought I could not succeed at that without a better education. Before long, strangely enough, a man offered to sell, and did sell, to me and another as poor as myself, an old stock of goods, upon credit. We opened as merchants. Of course we did nothing but get deeper and deeper in debt.

March 6th, 1833. Know all men by these presents, we, William F. Berry, Abraham Lincoln, and John Bowling Green, are held and firmly bound unto the County Commissioners of Sangamon County in the full sum of three hundred dollars to which payment well and truly to be made we bind ourselves, our heirs, executors and administrators firmly by these presents, sealed with our seal and dated this 6th day of March A. D. 1833. Now the condition of this obligation is such that whereas the said Berry & Lincoln has obtained a license from the County Commissioners' Court to keep a tavern in the town of New Salem to continue one year. Now if the said Berry

& Lincoln shall be of good behavior and observe all the laws of this State relative to tavern keepers—then this obligation to be void or otherwise remain in full force.

Abraham Lincoln (Seal)
Wm. F. Berry (Seal)
Bowling Green (Seal)

One day a man who was migrating to the West drove up in front of my store with a wagon which contained his family and household plunder. He asked me if I would buy an old barrel for which he had no room in his wagon and which he said contained nothing of special value. I did not want it, but to oblige him I bought it, and paid him, I think, half a dollar for it. Without further examination I put it away in the store and forgot all about it. Some time after, in overhauling things, I came upon the barrel, and emptying it upon the floor to see what it contained, I found at the bottom of the rubbish a complete edition of Blackstone's *Commentaries*. I began to read those famous works, and I had plenty of time; for during the long summer days, when the farmers were busy with their crops, my customers were few and far between. The more I read the more intensely interested I became. Never in my whole life was my mind so thoroughly absorbed, I read until I devoured them.

May. Appointed postmaster at New Salem—the office being too insignificant to make my politics an objection. The store winked out.

Firm of Lincoln and Berry fails leaving a heavy debt which Lincoln assumes. This debt embarrasses him for fifteen years.

Autumn. That debt was the greatest obstacle I have ever met in my life; I had no way of speculating, and could not

earn enough money except by labor, and to earn by labor eleven hundred dollars besides my living seemed the work of a lifetime. There was, however, but one way. I went to the creditors, and told them that if they would let me alone I would give them all I could earn over my living, as fast as I could earn it.

The surveyor of Sangamon offered to depute to me that portion of his work which was within my part of the county. Accepted, procured a compass and chain, studied Flint and Gibson a little, and went to it. This procured bread, and kept soul and body together.

Autumn, 1834. The election of 1834 came, and I was then elected to the Legislature by the highest vote ever cast for any candidate. Major John T. Stuart, then in full practise of the law, was also elected. During the canvass, in a private conversation he encouraged me to study law. After the election I borrowed books of Stuart, took them home with me, and went at it in good earnest. I studied with nobody. I still mixed in the surveying to pay board and clothing bills.

He continues also to be postmaster at New Salem, and to eke out a very scanty livelihood.

December. When the Legislature met, the law books were dropped, but were taken up again at the end of the session.

1835, New Salem.

Love affair of Lincoln and Ann Rutledge. Her sudden death of an epidemic, in August, casts him into desperate melancholy from which he emerges slowly.

Autumn. I can never be reconciled to have the snow, rains and storms beat upon her grave!

(At the grave of Ann Rutledge.) My heart is buried there.

1836. Stands for re-election to the Legislature.

June 13th. (To the Editor of the *Journal.*) In your paper of last Saturday, I see a communication, over the signature of "Many Voters," in which the candidates who are announced in the *Journal* are called upon to "show their hands." Agreed. Here's mine.

I go for all sharing the privileges of the government who assist in bearing its burdens. Consequently, I go for admitting all whites to the right of suffrage who pay taxes or bear arms (by no means excluding females).

If elected, I shall consider the whole people of Sangamon my constituents, as well those that oppose as those that support me.

While acting as their Representative, I shall be governed by their will on all subjects upon which I have the means of knowing what their will is; and upon all others, I shall do what my own judgment teaches me will best advance their interests. Whether elected or not, I go for distributing the proceeds of the sales of the public lands to the several States, to enable our State, in common with others, to dig canals and construct railroads without borrowing money and paying the interest on it.

If alive on the first Monday in November, I shall vote for Hugh L. White for President.

June 21st. (To Robert Allen.) I am told that during my absence last week you passed through this place, and stated publicly that you were in possession of a fact or facts, which if known to the public, would entirely destroy the prospects of N. W. Edwards and myself at the ensuing elections, but that through favor to us, you should forbear to divulge them. No one has needed favors more than I, and, generally, few have been less unwilling to accept them, but in this case favor to me would be injustice to the public, and therefore I must beg your

pardon for declining it. That I once had the confidence of the people of Sangamon is sufficiently evident; and if I have since done anything, either by design or misadventure, which if known would subject me to a forfeiture of that confidence, he that knows of that thing, and conceals it, is a traitor to his country's interest.

I find myself wholly unable to form any conjecture of what fact or facts, real or supposed, you spoke; but my opinion of your veracity will not permit me for a moment to doubt that you at least believed what you said. I am flattered with the personal regard you manifested for me; but I do hope that, on more mature reflection, you will view the public interest as a paramount consideration, and therefore determine to let the worst come.

I assure you that the candid statement of facts on your part, however low it may sink me, shall never break the tie of personal friendship between us.

I wish an answer to this, and you are at liberty to publish both, if you choose.

During the campaign of 1836—

(Attacking an opponent accused of graft, whose residence carried an enormous lightning-rod.) The gentleman commenced his speech by saying that this young man would have to be taken down, and he was sorry the task devolved upon him. I am not so young in years as I am in the tricks and trade of a politician; but live long or die young, I would rather die now than, like the gentleman, change my politics and simultaneous with the change, receive an office worth three thousand dollars a year, and then have to erect a lightning-rod over my house to protect a guilty conscience from an offended God.

(To some farmers after he had been driving with a more prosperous opponent.) I am too poor to own a carriage, but

my friend has generously invited me to ride with him. I want you to vote for me if you will; but if not, then vote for my opponent, for he is a fine man.

Re-elected to the Legislature.

September 9th. Obtains a license to practise law. In a sort of desperate reaction after the tragedy of Ann Rutledge he becomes entangled in a curious love affair.

November. (To Mrs. O. H. Browning.) In the autumn of 1836, a married lady of my acquaintance, and who was a great friend of mine, being about to pay a visit to her father and other relatives residing in Kentucky, proposed to me that on her return she would bring a sister of hers with her on condition that I would engage to become her brother-in-law with all convenient despatch. I, of course, accepted the proposal, for I could not have done otherwise had I really been adverse to it; but I was most confoundedly well pleased with the project. I had seen the said sister some three years before, thought her intelligent and agreeable, and saw no good objection to plodding life through hand in hand with her. Time passed on, the lady took her journey and in due time returned, sister (Mary Owens) in company, sure enough. This astonished me a little; for it appeared to me that her coming so readily showed that she was a trifle too willing; but on reflection it occurred to me that she might have been prevailed on by her married sister to come, without anything concerning me having been mentioned to her; and so I concluded that if no objection presented itself, I would consent to waive this. All this occurred to me on hearing of her arrival in the neighborhood; for, be it remembered, I had not seen her, except about three years previous, as above mentioned. In a few days we had an interview, and although I had seen her before, she did not look

as my imagination had pictured her. I knew she was over-size, but now she appeared a fair match for Falstaff. I knew she was called an "old maid," and I felt no doubt of the truth of at least half of the appellation, but now, when I beheld her, I could not for my life avoid thinking of my mother; and this, not from withered features, for her skin was too full of fat to permit of its contracting into wrinkles, but from her want of teeth, weather-beaten appearance in general, and from a kind of notion that ran in my head that nothing could have commenced at the size of infancy and reached her present bulk in less than thirty-five or forty years; and, in short, I was not at all pleased with her. But what could I do? I had told her sister that I would take her for better or for worse; and I made a point of honor and conscience in all things to stick to my word, especially if others had been induced to act on it, which in this case I had no doubt they had; for I was now fairly convinced that no other man on earth would have her, and hence the conclusion that they were bent on holding me to my bargain. "Well," thought I, "I have said it, and, be the consequences what they may, it shall not be my fault if I fail to do it." At once I determined to consider her my wife, and this done, all my powers of discovery were put to work in search of perfections in her which might be fairly set off against her defects. I tried to imagine her handsome, which, but for her unfortunate corpulency, was actually true. Exclusive of this, no woman that I have ever seen had a finer face. I also tried to convince myself that the mind was much more to be valued than the person; and in this she was not inferior so far as I could discover, to any with whom I had been acquainted.

December. Without attempting to come to any positive understanding with her, I set out for Vandalia.

December 13th. Vandalia.

(To Miss Mary Owens.) I have been sick ever since my arrival, or I should have written sooner. It is but little differ-

ence, however, as I have very little even yet to write. And more, the longer I can avoid the mortification of looking in the post-office for your letter and not finding it, the better. You see I am mad about that old letter yet. I don't like very well to risk you again. I'll try you once more, anyhow.

Our chance to take the seat of government to Springfield is better than I expected. An internal-improvement convention was held here since we met, which recommended a loan of several millions of dollars, on the faith of the State, to construct railroads. Some of the Legislature are for it, and some against it; which has the majority I can not tell.

You recollect that I mentioned at the outset of this letter that I had been unwell. That is the fact, though I believe I am about well now; but that, with other things I can not account for, have conspired, and have gotten my spirits so low that I feel that I would rather be any place in the world than here. I really can not endure the thought of staying here ten weeks. Write back as soon as you get this, and, if possible, say something that will please me, for really I have not been pleased since I left you. This letter is so dry and stupid that I am ashamed to send it, but with my present feelings I can not do any better.

1837

Young Lincoln develops a sarcastic vein which he indulges in his political speeches.

January. (In the House of Representatives of Illinois, upon the resolution offered by Mr. Linder, to institute an inquiry into the management of the affairs of the State Bank.) Mr. Chairman: Lest I should fall into the too common error of being mistaken in regard to which side I design to be upon, I shall make it my first care to remove all doubt on that point by declaring that I am opposed to the resolution under consideration, *in toto.* Before I proceed to the body of the subject, I will further remark that it is not without a considerable degree of apprehension that I venture to cross the track of the gentleman from Coles (Mr. Linder). Indeed, I do not believe I could muster a sufficiency of courage to come in contact with that gentleman, were it not for the fact, that he, some days since, most graciously condescended to assure us that he would never be found wasting ammunition on small game. On the same fortunate occasion he further gave us to understand that he regarded himself as being decidedly the superior of our common friend from Randolph (Mr. Shields); and feeling, as I really do, that I, to say the most of myself, am nothing more than the peer of our friend from Randolph, I shall regard the gentleman from Coles as decidedly my superior also, and consequently, in the course of what I shall have to say, whenever I shall have occasion to allude to that gentleman, I shall endeavor to adopt that kind of court language which I under-

stand to be due to decided superiority. In one faculty, at least, there can be no dispute of the gentleman's superiority over me, and most other men; and that is, the faculty of entangling a subject, so that neither himself, nor any other man, can find head or tail to it. Here he has introduced a resolution, embracing ninety-nine printed lines across common writing paper, and yet more than one half of his opening speech has been made upon subjects about which there is not one word said in his resolution.

By a general view of the resolution, it will be seen that a principal object of the committee is to examine into, and ferret out, a mass of corruption, supposed to have been committed by the commissioners who apportioned the stock of the Bank. I believe it is universally understood and acknowledged that all men will ever act correctly unless they have a motive to do otherwise. If this be true, we can only suppose that the commissioners acted corruptly, by also supposing that they were bribed to do so. Taking this view of the subject, I would ask if the Bank is likely to find it more difficult to bribe the committee of seven, which we are about to appoint, than it may have found it to bribe the commissioners?

(Here Mr. Linder called to order. The Chair decided that Mr. Lincoln was not out of order. Mr. Linder appealed to the House; but before the question was put, withdrew his appeal, saying he preferred to let the gentleman go on; he thought he would break his own neck. Mr. Lincoln proceeded):

Another gracious condescension; I acknowledge it with gratitude. I know I was not out of order; and I know every sensible man in the House knows it. I was not saying that the gentleman from Coles could be bribed, nor, on the other hand, will I say he could not. In that particular I leave him where I found him. I was only endeavoring to show that there was at least as great a probability of any seven members that could be selected from this House being bribed to act corruptly,

as there was that the twenty-four commissioners had been so bribed.

These are twenty-four of the most respectable men in the State. Probably no twenty-four men could be selected in the State with whom the people are better acquainted, or in whose honor and integrity they would more readily place confidence. And I now repeat that there is less probability that those men have been bribed and corrupted than that *any* seven men, or rather any *six* men, that could be selected from the members of this House, might be so bribed and corrupted; even though they were headed and led on by "decided superiority" himself.

The half-hearted courtship of Mary Owens drags on.

February. During my stay [at Vandalia] I had letters from Mary Owens which did not change my opinion of either her intellect or intention, but, on the contrary, confirmed it in both.

All this while, although I was fixed, "firm as the surge-repelling rock" in my resolution, I found I was continually repenting the rashness which had led me to make it. Through life I have been in no bondage, either real or imaginary, from the thraldom of which I so much desired to be free.

At the close of a debate on slavery in the Legislature Lincoln takes a position that hardly any one approves.

March 3rd.

Resolutions upon the subject of domestic slavery having passed both branches of the General Assembly at its present session, the undersigned hereby protest against the passage of the same.

They believe that the institution of slavery is founded on both injustice and bad policy; but that the promulgation of abolition doctrines tends rather to increase than abate its evils.

They believe that the Congress of the United States has no power under the Constitution to interfere with the institution of slavery in the different States.

They believe that the Congress of the United States has the power, under the Constitution, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, but that the power ought not to be exercised, unless at the request of the people of the District.

The difference between these opinions and those contained in the said resolutions is their reason for entering this protest.

Dan Stone,
A. Lincoln,
(Representatives from the County of Sangamon.)

April 1st. New Salem.

After my return home from the Legislature I saw nothing to change my opinion of Mary Owens in any particular. She was the same, and so was I. I now spent my time in planning how I might get along in life after my contemplated change in circumstances should have taken place, and how I might procrastinate the evil day for a time, which I really dreaded as much, perhaps more, than an Irishman does the halter.

15th. Removed to Springfield, and commenced the practise of law—my old friend Stuart taking me into partnership.

(To Joshua Speed, of whom Lincoln had asked credit on coming to Springfield to live.) If I fail in this (attempt to practise law) I do not know that I can ever pay you.

(Speed, thinking he has never seen a sadder face: You seem to be so much pained at contracting so small a debt, I think I can suggest a plan by which you can avoid the debt, and at the same time attain your end. I have a large room with a double bed upstairs, which you are very welcome to share with me.)

(Lincoln): Where is your room?

(Speed: Upstairs.)

(After taking his saddlebags upstairs and coming down, his face beaming with pleasure.) Well Speed, I'm moved.

Still in two minds about Mary Owens.

May 7th. Springfield.

(To Miss Mary Owens.) I have commenced two letters to send you before this, both of which displeased me before I got half done, and so I tore them up. The first I thought was not serious enough, and the second was on the other extreme. I shall send this, turn out as it may.

This thing of living in Springfield is rather a dull business, after all; at least it is to me. I am quite as lonesome here as I ever was anywhere in my life. I have been spoken to by but one woman since I have been here, and should not have been by her if she could have avoided it. I've never been to church, and probably shall not be soon. I stay away because I am conscious I should not know how to behave myself.

I am often thinking of what we said about your coming to live at Springfield. I am afraid you would not be satisfied. There is a great deal of flourishing about in carriages here, which it would be your doom to see without sharing it. You would have to be poor, without the means of hiding your poverty. Do you believe you could bear that patiently? Whatever woman may cast her lot with mine, should any ever do so, it is my intention to do all in my power to make her happy and contented; and there is nothing I can imagine that would make me more unhappy than to fail in the effort. I know I should be much happier with you than the way I am, provided I saw no signs of discontent in you. What you have said to me may have been in the way of jest, or I may have misunderstood it. If so, then let it be forgotten; if otherwise, I much wish you would think seriously before you decide. What I have said I will most positively abide by, provided you wish it. My opinion

is that you had better not do it. You have not been accustomed to hardship, and it may be more severe than you now imagine. I know you are capable of thinking correctly on any subject, and, if you deliberate maturely upon this before you decide, then I am willing to abide your decision.

You must write me a good long letter after you get this. You have nothing else to do, and though it might not seem interesting to you after you had written it, it would be a good deal of company to me in this "busy wilderness." Tell your sister I don't want to hear any more about selling out and moving. That gives me the hypo whenever I think of it.

August 16th. (To Miss Mary Owens.) You will no doubt think it rather strange that I should write you a letter on the same day on which we parted; and I can only account for it by supposing that seeing you lately makes me think of you more than usual; while at our late meeting we had but few expressions of thoughts. You must know that I can not see you or think of you with entire indifference; and yet it may be that you are mistaken in regard to what my real feelings toward you are. If I knew you were not, I should not trouble you with this letter. Perhaps any other man would know enough without further information; but I consider it my peculiar right to plead ignorance, and your bounden duty to allow the plea.

I want in all cases to do right, and most particularly so in all cases with women. I want, at this particular time, more than anything else, to do right with you; and if I knew it would be doing right, as I rather suspect it would, to let you alone, I would do it. And, for the purpose of making the matter as plain as possible, I now say that you can drop the subject, dismiss your thoughts (if you ever had any) from me forever, and leave this letter unanswered, without calling forth one accusing murmur from me. And I will even go further, and say, that, if it will add anything to your comfort or peace of

mind to do so, it is my sincere wish that you should. Do not understand that I wish to cut your acquaintance. I mean no such thing. What I do wish is that our further acquaintance shall depend upon yourself. If such further acquaintance would contribute nothing to your happiness, I am sure it would not to mine. If you feel yourself in any degree bound to me, I am now willing to release you, provided you wish it; while, on the other hand, I am willing and even anxious to bind you faster, if I can be convinced that it will, in any considerable degree, add to your happiness. This, indeed, is the whole question with me. Nothing would make me more miserable than to believe you miserable—nothing more happy than to know you were so.

In what I have now said, I think I can not be misunderstood; and to make myself understood is the only object of this letter.

If it suits you best not to answer this, farewell. A long life and a merry one attend you. But if you conclude to write back, speak as plainly as I do. There can be neither harm nor danger in saying to me anything you think, just in the manner you think it.

Again his sarcastic bent is displayed.

October 28th. (Denunciation of a political enemy.) General Adams' publications and outdoor maneuvering taken in connection with the editorial articles of the *Republican,* are not more foolish and contradictory than they are ludicrous and amusing. One week the *Republican* notifies the public that General Adams is preparing an instrument that will tear, rend, split, rive, blow up, confound, overwhelm, annihilate, extinguish, exterminate, burst asunder and grind to powder all its slanderers, and particularly Talbott and Lincoln—all of which is to be done *in due time.* Then for two or three weeks all is

calm—not a word said. Again the *Republican* comes forth with a mere passing remark that "Public opinion has decided in favor of General Adams," and intimates that he will give himself no more trouble about the matter. In the meantime Adams himself is prowling about, and as Burns says of the Devil, "For prey, a' holes and corners tryin'," and in one instance, goes so far as to take an old acquaintance of mine several steps from a crowd and apparently weighed down with the importance of his business, gravely and solemnly asks him if *"he ever heard Lincoln say he was a deist."* Anon the *Republican* comes again, "We invite the attention of the public to General Adams' communication," &c., "The victory is a great one," "The triumph is overwhelming." (I really believe the editor of the *Illinois Republican* is fool enough to think General Adams is an honest man.) Then General Adams leads off—*"Authors most egregiously mistaken,"* &c.,—*"most wofully shall their presumption be punished,"* &c., (Lord, have mercy on us.) *"The hour is yet to come, yea nigh at hand*—(how long first do you reckon?)—*when the Journal and its junto shall say, I have appeared too early."—"Then infamy shall be laid bare to the public gaze."* Suddenly the General appears to relent at the severity with which he is treating us and he exclaims, *"The condemnation of my enemies is the inevitable result of my own defense."* For your health's sake, dear General, do not permit your tenderness of heart to afflict you so much on our account. For some reason (perhaps because we are killed so quickly) we shall never be sensible of our suffering.

Finally breaks with Mary Owens.

Autumn. (To Mrs. O. H. Browning.) After all my suffering upon this deeply interesting subject, here I am, wholly, unexpectedly, completely out of "the scrape"; and I now want to know if you can guess how I got out of it—out, clear, in

every sense of the term—no violation of word, honor, or conscience. I don't believe you can guess, and so I might as well tell you at once. As the lawyer says, it was done in the manner following, to wit: After I had delayed the matter as long as I thought I could in honor do (which, by the way, had brought me round into last fall), I concluded I might as well bring it to a consummation without further delay, and so I mustered my resolution and made the proposal to her direct; but, shocking to relate, she answered, No. At first I supposed she did it through an affectation of modesty, which I thought but ill became her under the peculiar circumstances of her case, but on my renewal of the charge, I found she repelled it with greater firmness than before. I tried it again and again, but with the same success, or rather with the same want of success.

I finally was forced to give it up, at which I very unexpectedly found myself mortified almost beyond endurance. I was mortified, it seemed to me, in a hundred different ways. My vanity was deeply wounded by the reflection that I had so long been too stupid to discover her intentions, and at the same time never doubting that I understood them perfectly; and also that she, whom I had taught myself to believe nobody else would have, had actually rejected me with all my fancied greatness. And, to cap the whole, I then for the first time began to suspect that I was really a little in love with her. But let it all go! I'll try and outlive it. Others have been made fools of by girls; but this can never with truth be said of me. I most emphatically, in this instance, made a fool of myself. I have now come to the conclusion never again to think of marrying, and for this reason: I can never be satisfied with any one who would be blockhead enough to have me.

1838-1841

By this time he is a leading member of the Young Men's Lyceum, of Springfield. The stormy events of the year 1837, including the murder of Owen Lovejoy, are soon followed by a defense of law by young Lincoln.

January 27th, 1838. As a subject for the remarks of the evening, "The Perpetuation of our Political Institutions" is selected.

All the armies of Europe, Asia, and Africa combined, with all the treasure of the earth (our own excepted) in their military chest, with a Bonaparte for a commander, could not by force take a drink from the Ohio or make a track on the Blue Ridge in a trial of a thousand years.

At what point, then, is the approach of danger to be expected? I answer, If it ever reach us it must spring up among us; it can not come from abroad. If destruction be our lot we must ourselves be its author and finisher. As a nation of freemen we must live through all time or die by suicide.

I hope I am over-wary; but if I am not, there is even now something of ill omen among us. I mean the increasing disregard for law which pervades the country—the growing disposition to substitute the wild and furious passions in lieu of the sober judgment of courts, and the worse than savage mobs for the executive ministers of justice. Here, then, is one point at which danger may be expected.

The question recurs, "How shall we fortify against it?" The answer is simple. Let every American, every lover of

liberty, every well-wisher to his posterity, swear by the blood of the Revolution never to violate in the least particular the laws of the country, and never to tolerate their violation by others.

When I so pressingly urge a strict observance of all the laws, let me not be understood as saying there are no bad laws, or that grievances may not arise for the redress of which no legal provisions have been made. I mean to say no such thing. But I do mean to say that although bad laws, if they exist, should be repealed as soon as possible, still, while they continue in force, for the sake of example, they should be religiously observed. So also in unprovided cases. If such arise, let proper legal provisions be made for them with the least possible delay, but till then let them, if not too intolerable, be borne with. There is no grievance that is a fit object of redress by mob law.

Re-elected to the Legislature.
He soon draws up a petition not strictly political.

October 10th, 1839. (To the Honorable Mrs. Browning.*) We, the undersigned, respectfully represent to your Honoress, that we are in great need of your society in the town of Springfield and therefore humbly pray that your Honoress will repair forthwith to the seat of Government bringing in your train all ladies in general who may be at your command and all Mrs. Browning's sisters in particular, and as faithful and dutiful petitioners we promise that if you grant this our request, we will render unto your Honoress due attention and faithful obedience to your orders in general and to Miss Browning's in particular.

In tender consideration whereof we pray your Honoress to

*See p. 16. Her husband Orville H. Browning was one of his closest friends.

grant your humble petitioners their above request and such other and further relief in the premises as to your Honoress may seem right and proper; and your petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray, etc.

*His vein of quaint humor enlivens his legal correspondence.**

December 23rd. (To John T. Stuart.) Doctor Henry will write you all the political news. I write this about some little matters of business. You recollect you told me you had drawn the Chicago Masack money and sent it to the claimants. A d—d hawk-billed Yankee is here besetting me at every turn I take, saying that Robert Kinzie never received the eighty dollars to which he was entitled.

Can you tell anything about the matter? Again, old Mr. Wright, who lives up South Fork somewhere, is teasing me continually about some deeds which he says he left with you, but which I can find nothing of. Can you tell where they are?

During this year he has become engaged to Mary Todd, a Springfield belle, whose social position was very much higher than his own.

But his new love affair does not in any way check his political enterprise.

January 20th, 1840. (To John T. Stuart.) Be sure to send me as many copies of the *Life of Harrison* as you can spare from other uses. Be very sure to procure and send me the *Senate Journal* of New York of September, 1814. I have a newspaper article which says that that document proves that Van Buren voted against raising troops in the last war. And, in general, send me everything you think will be a good "war-club."

You have heard that the Whigs and Locos had a political

*See particularly p. 53.

discussion shortly after the meeting of the Legislature. Well, I made a big speech which is in progress of printing in pamphlet form.

March 1st. (To John T. Stuart.) I have never seen the prospects of our party so bright in these parts as they are now. We shall carry this county by a larger majority than we did in 1836.

I think my prospects individually are not very flattering, for I think it probable I shall not be permitted to be a candidate; but the party ticket will succeed triumphantly.

Yesterday Douglas, having chosen to consider himself insulted by something in the *Journal,* undertook to cane Francis in the street. Francis caught him by the hair and jammed him back against a market cart where the matter ended by Francis being pulled away from him. The whole affair was so ludicrous that Francis and everybody else (Douglas excepted) have been laughing about it ever since.

26th. (To John T. Stuart.) We have had a convention for nominating candidates in this county. Baker was put on the track for the Senate, and Bradford, Brown of the Island Grove, Josiah Francis, Darneille, and I for the House. Ninian Edwards was very much hurt at not being nominated, but he has become tolerably well reconciled. I was much, very much, wounded myself at his being left out. The fact is, the county delegates made the nominations as they pleased; and they pleased to make them all from the county, except Baker and me, whom they supposed necessary to make stump speeches.

Re-elected to the Legislature.

January 1st, 1841. Engagement broken for some reason not certainly known. Much gossip grows out of the event. Lincoln is again plunged into deep melancholy and repeats to some degree the gloomy experiences which followed the death of Ann Rutledge.

January 23rd. (To John T. Stuart.) Yours of the 3d instant is received, and I proceed to answer it as well as I can, though from the deplorable state of my mind at this time I fear I shall give you but little satisfaction.

On last evening there was a meeting of our friends at Butler's, and I submitted the question to them, and found them unanimously in favor of having you announced as a candidate. A few of us this morning, however, concluded that as you were already being announced in the papers, we would delay announcing you, as by your own authority, for a week or two. We thought that to appear too keen about it might spur our opponents on about their general ticket project. Upon the whole, I think I may say with certainty that your re-election is sure, if it be in the power of the Whigs to make it so.

For not giving you a general summary of news, you must pardon me; it is not in my power to do so. I am now the most miserable man living. If what I feel were equally distributed to the whole human family, there would not be one cheerful face on the earth. Whether I shall ever be better, I can not tell; I awfully forbode I shall not. To remain as I am is impossible; I must die or be better, it appears to me. The matter you speak of on my account you may attend to as you say, unless you shall hear of my condition forbidding it. I say this because I fear I shall be unable to attend to any business here, and a change of scene might help me. If I could be myself, I would rather remain at home with Judge Logan. I can write no more.

Before long he emerges from his first gloom but is not fully himself for a long while.

February 5th. (To John T. Stuart.) Some of us here have concluded that if it is agreeable, Bat Webb shall be our District Attorney. He would accept the place, but will not

enter into a scramble for it. We hear, or at least I know, of no other applicant. I will add that I really have my heart set upon Webb's appointment to this place, and that I believe the whole party would be gratified with it.

He finds solace in renewed political activity.

26th. The undersigned can not assent to the passage of the bill (reorganizing the State Judiciary) or permit it to become a law without this evidence of their disapprobation; and they now protest against the reorganization of the judiciary, because—(1) It violates the great principles of free government by subjecting the judiciary to the Legislature. (2) It is a fatal blow at the independence of the judges and the constitutional term of their office. (3) It is a measure not asked for, or wished for, by the people. (4) It will greatly increase the expense of our courts, or else greatly diminish their utility. (5) It will give our courts a political and partisan character, thereby impairing public confidence in their decisions. (6) It will impair our standing with other States and the world. (7) It is a party measure for party purposes, from which no practical good to the people can possibly arise, but which may be the source of immeasurable evils.

The undersigned are well aware that this protest will be altogether unavailing with the majority of this body. The blow has already fallen, and we are compelled to stand by, the mournful spectators of the ruin it will cause.

April 14th. End of firm of Stuart and Lincoln, which is succeeded by the firm of Logan and Lincoln.

*May. He is involved in a faint love affair with a young girl, Sarah Rickard.**

*Of this rather shadowy affair, which appears to have comprised the reaction after his torment over Mary Todd, very little is known. The lady herself, twenty-five years after, told Mr. Jesse W. Weik that Lincoln proposed to her and was rejected. The contemporary record is in a few

June. He goes to Kentucky and makes a visit to the relatives of Speed. Soon after his return—

September 27th, Bloomington. (To Miss Mary Speed.) Having resolved to write to some of your mother's family, and not having the express permission of any one of them to do so, I have had some little difficulty in determining on which to inflict the task of reading what I now feel must be a most dull and silly letter; but when I remembered that you and I were something of cronies while I was at Farmington, and that while there I was under the necessity of shutting you up in a room to prevent your committing an assault and battery upon me, I instantly decided that you should be the devoted one. I assume that you have not heard from Joshua and myself since we left, because I think it doubtful whether he has written. You remember there was some uneasiness about Joshua's health when we left. That little indisposition of his turned out to be nothing serious, and it was pretty nearly forgotten when we reached Springfield. We got on board the steamboat *Lebanon* in the locks of the canal, about twelve o'clock M. of the day we left, and reached St. Louis the next Monday at 8 P. M. Nothing of interest happened during the passage, except the vexatious delays occasioned by the sandbars we thought interesting. By the way, a fine example was present on board the boat for contemplating the effect of condition upon human happiness. A gentleman had purchased twelve negroes in different parts of Kentucky and was taking them to a farm in the South. They were chained six and six together. A small iron clevis was around the left wrist of each, and this was fastened to the main chain by a shorter one at a convenient distance from the others, so that the negroes were strung together precisely like so many fish upon a trot-line. In

rather cryptic sentences scattered through the letters to Speed. The original editors suppressed the name, at Speed's request. See *The Real Lincoln,* 67-68.

this condition they were being separated forever from the scenes of their childhood, their friends, their fathers and mothers, and brothers and sisters, and many of them from their wives and children, and going into perpetual slavery, where the lash of the master is proverbially more ruthless and unrelenting than any other where; and yet amid all these distressing circumstances, as we would think them, they were the most cheerful and apparently happy creatures on board. One whose offense for which he had been sold was an over-fondness for his wife, played the fiddle almost continually, and the others danced, sang, cracked jokes and played various games with cards from day to day. How true it is that "God tempers the wind to the shorn lamb," or in other words, that He renders the worst of human conditions tolerable, while He permits the best to be nothing better than tolerable. To return to the narrative. When we reached Springfield, I stayed but one day when I started on this tedious circuit where I now am. Do you remember my going to the city while I was in Kentucky to have a tooth extracted, and making a failure of it? Well, that same old tooth got to paining me so much that about a week since I had it torn out, bringing with it a bit of the jaw-bone, the consequence of which is that my mouth is now so sore that I can neither talk nor eat.

I am literally "subsisting on savory remembrances"—that is, being unable to eat, I am living upon the remembrance of the delicious dishes of peaches and cream we used to have at your house. When we left, Miss Fanny Henning was owing you a visit, as I understood. Has she paid it yet? If she has, are you not convinced that she is one of the sweetest girls in the world? There is but one thing about her, so far as I could perceive, that I would have otherwise than as it is—that is, something of a tendency to melancholy. This, let it be observed, is a misfortune, not a fault.

Give her an assurance of my very highest regard when

you see her. Is little Siss Eliza Davis at your house yet? If she is, kiss her "o'er and o'er again" for me.

Tell your mother that I have not got her "present" [an "Oxford" *Bible*] with me, but I intend to read it regularly when I return home. I doubt not that it is really, as she says, the best cure for the blues, could one but take it according to the truth.

Now quite himself again and once more in full political career.

October 20th. The undersigned, acting, as is believed, in accordance with the wishes of the Whig party, and in compliance with their duties as the Whig Central Committee of this State, appoint the third Monday of December next for the meeting of a Whig State Convention, at Springfield, for the purpose of nominating candidates for the offices of Governor and Lieutenant-Governor of this State for the coming election.

A. G. Henry, J. F. Speed, A. Lincoln,
E. D. Baker, Wm. L May,

Whig State Central Committee

1842

Speed having become engaged to be married, suffers a period of introspection, dissecting his own motives, which appears to resemble the experience through which Lincoln had passed before the breaking of his engagement to Mary Todd. Having recovered himself he seeks to lead Speed to recovery.

January 3rd. (To Joshua F. Speed.) Feeling, as you know I do, the deepest solicitude for the success of the enterprise you are engaged in, [his engagement to be married] I adopt this as the last method I can adopt to aid you, in case (which God forbid) you shall need any aid. I do not place what I am going to say on paper because I can say it better that way than I could by word of mouth, but, were I to say it orally before we part, most likely you would forget it at the very time when it might do you some good. As I think it reasonable that you will feel very badly some time between this and the final consummation of your purpose, it is intended that you shall read this just at such a time. Why I say it is reasonable that you will feel very badly yet, is because of three *special causes* added to the *general one* which I shall mention.

The general cause is, that you are naturally of a nervous temperament; and this I say from what I have seen of you personally, and what you have told me concerning your mother at various times, and concerning your brother William at the time his wife died.

The first special cause is your *exposure to bad weather* on your journey, which my experience clearly proves to be very severe on defective nerves. The second is the *absence of all*

business and conversation of friends, which might divert your mind, give it occasional rest from the intensity of thought which will sometimes wear the sweetest idea threadbare, and turn it to the bitterness of death. The third is *the rapid and near approach of that crisis on which all your thoughts and feelings concentrate.*

If from all these causes you shall escape and go through triumphantly, without another "twinge of the soul," I shall be most happily but not egregiously deceived. If, on the contrary, you shall, as I expect you will at some time, be agonized and distressed, let me, who have some reason to speak with judgment of such a subject, beseech you to ascribe it to the causes I have mentioned, and not to some false and ruinous suggestion of the Devil.

I know what the painful point with you is at all times when you are unhappy; it is an apprehension that you do not love her as you should. What nonsense! How came you to court her? Was it because you thought she deserved it, and that you had given her reason to expect it?

Say candidly, were not those heavenly *black eyes* the whole basis of all your early *reasoning* on the subject? After you and I had once been at the residence, did you not go and take me all the way to Lexington and back, for no other purpose but to get to see her again, on your return that evening to take a trip for that express object?

What earthly consideration would you take to find her scouting and despising you, and giving herself up to another? But of this you have no apprehension; and therefore you can not bring it home to your feelings.

February 3rd. (To Joshua F. Speed.) You well know that I do not feel my own sorrows much more keenly than I do yours, when I know of them; and yet I assure you I was not much hurt by what you wrote me of your excessively bad feeling at the time you wrote. Not that I am less capable of

sympathizing with you now than ever, not that I am less your friend than ever, but because *I hope and believe that your present anxiety and distress* about *her* health and *her* life must and will forever banish those horrid doubts which I know you sometimes felt as to the truth of your affection for her. If they can once and forever be removed (and I almost feel a presentiment that the Almighty has sent your present affliction expressly for that object), surely nothing can come in their stead to fill their immeasurable measure of misery. The death scenes of those we love are surely painful enough; but these we are prepared for and expect to see; they happen to all, and all know they must happen. Painful as they are, they are not an unlooked-for sorrow. Should she, as you fear, be destined to an early *grave, it is indeed a great consolation to know that she is so well prepared to meet it.* Her religion, which you once disliked so much, I will venture you now prize most highly.

Why, Speed, if you did not love her, although you might not wish her death, you would most certainly be resigned to it. Perhaps this point is no longer a question with you, and my pertinacious dwelling upon it is a rude intrusion upon your feelings. If so, you must pardon me. You know the hell I have suffered on that point, and how tender I am upon it. You know I do not mean wrong. I have been quite clear of hypo since you left; even better than I was along in the fall.

13th. (To Joshua F. Speed.) Yours of the 1st instant came to hand three or four days ago. When this shall reach you, you will have been Fanny's husband several days. You know my desire to befriend you is everlasting; that I will never cease while I know how to do anything.

But you will always hereafter be on ground that I never occupied, and consequently, if advice were needed, I might advise wrong. I do fondly hope, however, that you will never again need any comfort from abroad. But, should I be mis-

taken in this, should excessive pleasure still be accompanied with a painful counterpart at times, still let me urge you, as I have ever done, to remember, in the depth and even agony of despondency, that very shortly you are to feel well again. I am now fully convinced that you love her as ardently as you are capable of loving. Your ever being happy in her presence, and your intense anxiety about her health, if there were nothing else, would place this beyond all dispute in my mind. I incline to think it probable that your nerves will fail you occasionally for a while; but once you get them firmly guarded now, that trouble is over forever.

Meanwhile business though plentiful is not lucrative.

16th. (To G. B. Sheledy.)[1] Judge Logan and myself are doing business together now, and we are willing to attend to your cases as you propose. As to the terms, we are willing to attend each case you prepare and send us for $10 (when there shall be no opposition) to be sent in advance, or you know that it is safe. It takes $5.75 of cost to start upon, that is $1.75 to clerk, and $2 to each of two publishers of papers—Judge Logan thinks it will take the balance of $20 to carry a case through. This must be advanced from time to time as the services are performed, as the officers will not act without. I do not know whether you can be admitted an attorney of the Federal Court in your absence or not; nor is it material, as the business can be done in our names.

The young lawyer-politician champions a growing but not wholly popular movement in an address to the Washington Society for the promotion of temperance.

22nd. The warfare heretofore waged against the demon intemperance has somehow or other been erroneous. Either

the champions engaged or the tactics they adopted have not been the most proper. These champions for the most part have been preachers, lawyers, and hired agents. Between these and the mass of mankind there is a want of approachability, if the term be admissible, partially, at least, fatal to their success. They are supposed to have no sympathy of feeling or interest with those very persons whom it is their object to convince and persuade.

By the Washingtonians this system of consigning the habitual drunkard to hopeless ruin is repudiated. They adopt a more enlarged philanthropy; they go for present as well as future good. They labor for all now living, as well as hereafter to live. They teach hope to all—despair to none. As applying to their cause, they deny the doctrine of unpardonable sin; as in Christianity it is taught, so in this they teach—"While the lamp holds out to burn, The vilest sinner may return."

"But," say some, "we are no drunkards, and we shall not acknowledge ourselves such by joining a reformed drunkards' society, whatever our influence might be." Surely no Christian will adhere to this objection. If they believe as they profess, that Omnipotence condescended to take on himself the form of sinful man, and as such to die an ignominious death for their sakes, surely they will not refuse submission to the infinitely lesser condescension, for the temporal, and perhaps eternal, salvation of a large, erring, and unfortunate class of their fellow creatures. Nor is the condescension very great. In my judgment such of us as have never fallen victims have been spared more by the absence of appetite than from any mental or moral superiority over those who have. Indeed, I believe if we take habitual drunkards as a class, their heads and their hearts will bear an advantageous comparison with those of any other class. There seems ever to have been a proneness in the brilliant and warm-blooded to fall into this vice—the

demon of intemperance ever seems to have delighted in sucking the blood of genius and of generosity. What one of us but can call to mind some relative, more promising in youth than all his fellows, who has fallen a sacrifice to his rapacity? He ever seems to have gone forth like the Egyptian angel of death, commissioned to slay, if not the first, the fairest born of every family. Shall he now be arrested in his desolating career? In that arrest all can give aid that will; and who shall be excused that can and will not? Far around as human breath has ever blown he keeps our fathers, our brothers, our sons, and our friends prostrate in the chains of moral death. To all the living everywhere we cry, "Come sound the moral trump, that these may rise and stand up an exceeding great army." "Come from the four winds, O breath! and breathe upon these slain that they may live." If the relative grandeur of revolutions shall be estimated by the great amount of human misery they alleviate, and the small amount they inflict, then indeed will this be the grandest the world shall ever have seen.

25th. (To Joshua F. Speed.) Yours of the 16th instant, announcing that Miss Fanny and you are "no more twain, but one flesh," reached me this morning. I have no way of telling you how much happiness I wish you both, though I believe you both can conceive it. I feel somewhat jealous of both of you now: you will be so exclusively concerned for one another, that I shall be forgotten entirely.

I regret to learn that you have resolved not to return to Illinois. I shall be very lonesome without you. How miserably things seem to be arranged in this world! If we have no friends, we have no pleasure; and if we have them, we are sure to lose them, and be doubly pained by the loss. I did hope she and you would make your home here; but I own I have no right to insist. You owe obligations to her ten thousand times more sacred than you can owe to others, and in that light let them be respected and observed.

25th. (To Joshua F. Speed.) I tell you, Speed, our forebodings (for which you and I are peculiar) are all the worst sort of nonsense. I fancied, from the time I received your letter of Saturday, that the one of *Wednesday* was never to come, and yet it *did* come, and what is more, it is perfectly clear, both from its *tone* and *handwriting,* that you were much *happier,* or, if you think the term preferable, *less miserable,* when you wrote it than when you wrote the last one before. You had so obviously improved at the very time I so much fancied you would have grown worse. You say that something indescribably horrible and alarming still haunts you. You will not say *that* three months from now, I will venture. When your nerves once get steady now, the whole trouble will be over forever. Nor should you become impatient at their being even very slow in becoming steady. Again you say you much fear that that Elysium of which you have dreamed so much is never to be realized. Well, if it shall not, I dare swear it will not be the fault of her who is now your wife. I now have no doubt that it is the peculiar misfortune of both you and me to dream dreams of Elysium far exceeding all that anything earthly can realize. Far short of your dreams as you may be, no woman could do more to realize them than that same black-eyed Fanny. If you could but contemplate her through my imagination, it would appear ridiculous to you that any one should for a moment think of being unhappy with her. My old father used to have a saying that "If you make a bad bargain, *hug* it all the tighter"; and it occurs to me that if the bargain you have just closed can possibly be called a bad one, it is certainly the most pleasant one for applying that maxim to which my fancy can by any effort picture.

I write another letter, inclosing this, which you can show her, if she desires it. I do this because she would think strangely, perhaps, should you tell her that you received no letters from me, or, telling her you do, refuse to let her see them.

March 27th. (To Joshua F. Speed.) It can not be told how it now thrills me with joy to hear you say you are *"far happier than you ever expected to be."* That much I know is enough. I know you too well to suppose your expectations were not, at least, sometimes extravagant, and, if the reality exceeds them all, I say, "Enough, dear Lord." I am not going beyond the truth when I tell you that the short space it took me to read your last letter gave me more pleasure than the total sum of all I have enjoyed since the fatal 1st of January, 1841. Since then it seems to me I should have been entirely happy, but for the never-absent idea that there is *one* still unhappy whom I have contributed to make so. That still kills my soul. I can not but reproach myself for even wishing to be happy while she is otherwise. She accompanied a large party on the railroad cars to Jacksonville last Monday, and on her return spoke, so that I heard of it, of having enjoyed the trip exceedingly. God be praised for that!

Speed now takes the rôle of adviser and Lincoln begins to ponder his own case.

July 4th. (To Joshua F. Speed.) As to my having been displeased with your advice, surely you know better than that. I know you do, and therefore will not labor to convince you. True, that subject is painful to me; but it is not your silence or the silence of all the world that can make me forget it. I acknowledge the correctness of your advice, too; but before I resolve to do the one thing or the other, I must gain my confidence in my own ability to keep my resolves when they are made. In that ability you know I once prided myself as the only or chief gem of my character: that gem I lost, how and where you know too well. I have not yet regained it; and until I do, I can not trust myself in any matter of much importance. I believe now that had you understood my case at

the time as well as I understood yours afterward, by the aid you would have given me I should have sailed through clear; but that does not now afford me sufficient confidence to begin that or the like of that again.

You make a kind of acknowledgment of your obligations to me for your present happiness. I am pleased with that acknowledgment. But a thousand times more am I pleased to know that you enjoy a degree of happiness worthy of an acknowledgment. The truth is, I am not sure that there was any merit with me in the part I took in your difficulty: I was drawn to it by a fate. If I would, I could not have done less than I did. I was always superstitious: I believe God made me one of the instruments of bringing your Fanny and you together, which union I have no doubt He had foreordained. Whatever He designs He will do for me yet. "Stand still, and see the salvation of the Lord" is my text just now. If, as you say, you have told Fanny *all,* I should have no objection to her seeing this letter, but for its reference to our friend here: let her seeing it depend upon whether she has ever known anything of my affairs; and if she has not, do not let her.

I do not think I can come to Kentucky this season. I am so poor and make so little headway in the world that I drop back in a month of idleness as much as I gain in a year's sowing. I should like to visit you again. I should like to see that "sis" of yours that was absent when I was there, though I suppose she would run away again if she were to hear I was coming.

Though meditating a recovery of relations that may lead to matrimony, his fees are still painfully slight.

14th. (To Samuel D. Marshall.) Yours of the 15th June, relative to the suit of Grable vs. Margrave was duly received, and I have delayed answering it till now, when I can

announce the result of the case. The judgment is affirmed. So soon as the clerk has leisure to make a copy of the mandate of the court, I will get him to do so, and send it to you, by force of which your clerk will issue an execution.

As to the fee, if you are agreed, let it be as follows. Give me credit for two years subscription to your paper and send me five dollars, in good money or the equivalent of it in our Illinois paper.

A reconciliation with Mary Todd is somehow effected though neither discloses quite how it was done and gossiping tongues wag more busily than ever. Speedily Lincoln has an opportunity to defend the lady. Satirical letters signed "Rebeccah" appear in the Springfield Journal lampooning a local politician, James Shields; some of these are written by Lincoln, one by Mary Todd and a girl friend. When Shields becomes enraged over the sauciness of the "Rebeccah" letters, Lincoln assumes responsibility for them. Shields challenges him to a duel, Lincoln replies:

September 17th. (To Jas. Shields, Esq.) Your note of to-day was handed me by General Whitesides. In that note you say you have been informed, through the medium of the editor of the *Journal,* that I am the author of certain articles in that paper which you deem personally abusive of you; and without stopping to inquire whether I really am the author, or to point out what is offensive in them, you demand an unqualified retraction of all that is offensive, and then proceed to hint at consequences.

Now, sir, there is in this so much assumption of facts and so much of menace as to consequences, that I can not submit to answer that note any further than I have, and to add that the consequences to which I suppose you allude would be matter of as great regret to me as it possibly could to you.

19th. (Memorandum of Instructions to E. H. Merryman, Lincoln's Second.) In case Whitesides shall signify a wish to adjust this affair without further difficulty, let him know that if the present papers be withdrawn, and a note from Mr. Shields asking to know if I am the author of the articles of which he complains, and asking that I shall make him gentlemanly satisfaction if I am the author, and this without menace of dictation as to what that satisfaction shall be, a pledge is made that the following answer shall be given:—

"I did write the 'Lost Townships' letter which appeared in the *Journal* of the 2d instant, but had no participation in any form in any other article alluding to you. I wrote that wholly for political effect. I had no intention of injuring your personal or private character or standing as a man or a gentleman; and I did not then think, and do not now think, that that article could produce or has produced that effect against you; and had I anticipated such an effect I would have forborne to write it. And I will add, that your conduct toward me, so far as I know, had always been gentlemanly; and that I had no personal pique against you, and no cause for any."

If this should be done, I leave it with you to arrange what shall and what shall not be published.

If nothing like this is done, the preliminaries of the fight are to be:

1st. Weapons:—Cavalry broadswords of the largest size, precisely equal in all respects, and such as now used by the cavalry company at Jacksonville.

2d. Position:—A plank ten feet long, and from nine to twelve inches broad, to be firmly fixed on edge, on the ground, as the line between us, which neither is to pass his foot over upon forfeit of his life. Next a line drawn on the ground on either side of said plank and parallel with it, each at the distance of the whole length of the sword and three feet additional from the plank; and the passing of his own such line by either

party during the fight shall be deemed a surrender of the contest.

3d. Time:—On Thursday evening at 5 o'clock, if you can get it so; but in no case to be at a greater distance of time than Friday evening at 5 o'clock.

4th. Place:—Within three miles of Alton, on the opposite side of the river, the particular spot to be agreed on by you.

Any preliminary details coming within the above rules you are at liberty to make at your discretion; but you are in no case to swerve from these rules, or to pass beyond their limits.

Quarrel with Shields patched up by friends after the duelists have taken their places.

October 4th. (To Joshua F. Speed.) You have heard of my duel with Shields, and I have now to inform you that the dueling business still rages in this city. Day before yesterday Shields challenged Butler, who accepted, and proposed fighting next morning at sunrise in Bob Allen's meadow, one hundred yards' distance, with rifles. To this Whitesides, Shields' second, said "no" because of the law. Thus ended duel No. 2. Yesterday Whitesides chose to consider himself insulted by Doctor Merryman, so sent him a kind of *quasi*-challenge, inviting him to meet him at the Planter's House in St. Louis on the next Friday, to settle their difficulty. Merryman made me his friend, and sent a note, inquiring to know if he meant his note as a challenge, and if so, that he would, according to the law in such case made and provided, prescribe the terms of the meeting. Whitesides returned for answer that if Merryman would meet him at the Planter's House as desired, he would challenge him. M. replied in a note that he denied W.'s right to dictate time and place, but that he (M.) would waive the question of time, and meet him in Louisiana, Missouri. Upon my presenting this note to W. and stating verbally its

contents, he declined receiving it, saying he had business in St. Louis, and it was as near as Louisiana. Merryman then directed me to notify Whitesides that he should publish the correspondence between them with such comments as he thought fit. This I did. Thus it stood at bedtime last night. This morning Whitesides, by his friend Shields, is praying for a new trial, on the ground that he was mistaken in Merryman's proposition to meet him at Louisiana, Missouri, thinking it was the State of Louisiana. This Merryman hoots at, and is preparing his publication; while the town is in a ferment, and a street fight somewhat anticipated.

October. (To his cousin, John Hanks.) Dear John—I am to be married on the 4th of next month to Miss Todd. I hope you will come over. Be sure to be on deck by early candle-light.

November 4, 1842, married to Mary Todd.

November 11th. Nothing new here [Springfield] except my marrying, which to me is matter of profound wonder.

February 14th, 1843. (To Richard S. Thomas.) Now if you should hear any one say that Lincoln don't want to go to Congress, I wish you, as a personal friend of mine, would tell him you have reason to believe he is mistaken. The truth is, I would like to go very much. Still, circumstances may happen which may prevent my being a candidate.

If there are any who be my friends in such an enterprise, what I now want is that they shall not throw me away just yet.

March 7th. On yesterday morning the most of the Whig members of this District got together and agreed to hold the convention (to nominate a member of Congress) at Tremont in Tazewell County.

24th. (To Joshua F. Speed.) We had a meeting of the Whigs of the county here on last Monday to appoint delegates to a district convention; and Baker beat me, and got the delegation instructed to go for him. The meeting, in spite of my attempt to decline it, appointed me one of the delegates; so that, in getting Baker the nomination I shall be fixed a good deal like a fellow who is made a groomsman to a man that has cut him out and is marrying his own dear "gal." About the prospects of your having a namesake at our town, can't say exactly yet.

The causes of Lincoln's rejection by the convention reveal an attitude toward him on the part of the ultra conservative part of the community. He has been reading skeptical books and has talked freely, at the Lyceum and elsewhere, in a way that has mystified the ultras.

26th. (To Martin M. Morris.) It is truly gratifying to me to learn that while the people of Sangamon have cast me off, my old friends of Menard, who have known me longest and best, stick to me. It would astonish, if not amuse the older citizens, to learn that I (a stranger, friendless, uneducated, penniless boy, working on a flatboat at ten dollars per month) have been put down here as the candidate of pride, wealth, and aristocratic family distinction. Yet so, chiefly, it was. There was, too, the strangest combination of church influence against me. Baker is a Campbellite; and therefore, as I suppose, with few exceptions got all that church. My wife has some relations in the Presbyterian churches, and some with the Episcopal churches; and therefore, wherever it would tell, I was set down as either the one or the other, while it was everywhere contended that no Christian ought to go for me, because I belonged to no church, was suspected of being a deist, and had talked about fighting a duel. With all these things, Baker, of course, had nothing to do. Nor do I complain of them. As to his own church going for him, I think that was right enough, and as to the influences I have spoken of in the other, though they were very strong, it would be grossly untrue and unjust to charge that they acted upon them in a body, or were very near so. I only mean that those influences levied a tax of a considerable per cent upon my strength throughout the religious controversy. But enough of this.

You say you shall instruct your delegates for me unless I object. I certainly shall not object. That would be too pleasant a compliment for me to tread in the dust. And besides, if anything should happen (which, however, is not probable) by which Baker should be thrown out of the fight, I would be at liberty to accept the nomination if I could get it. I do, however, feel myself bound not to hinder him in any way from getting the nomination. I should despise myself were I to attempt it. I think, then, it would be proper for your meeting

to appoint three delegates and to instruct them to go for some one as a *first* choice, some one else as a *second,* and perhaps some one as a *third;* and if in those instructions I were named as the first choice, it would gratify me very much.

J. J. Hardin receives the Whig nomination, to the chagrin both of Lincoln and Baker. The nominee has doubts upon the attitude of his rivals.

May 11th. (To Hardin.) Butler informs me that he received a letter from you in which you expressed some doubt whether the Whigs of Sangamon will support you cordially. You may, at once, dismiss all fears on that subject. We have already resolved to make a particular effort to give you the very largest majority possible in our county. From this, no Whig of the county dissents. We have many objects for doing it. We make it a matter of honor and pride to do it; we do it because we love the Whig cause; we do it because we like you personally; at last we wish to convince you that we do not bear that hatred to Morgan county, that you people have so long seemed to imagine. You will see by the *Journal* of this week, that we propose, upon pain of losing a Barbecue, to give you twice as great a majority in this county as you shall receive in your own. I got up the proposal.

18th. (To Joshua F. Speed.) In relation to our Congress matter here, you were right in supposing I would support the nominee. Neither Baker nor I, however, is the man, but Hardin. We shall have no split or trouble about the matter; all will be harmony. In relation to the "coming events" about which Butler wrote you, I had not heard one word before I got your letter; but I have so much confidence in the judgment of a Butler on such a subject that I incline to think there may be some reality in it. What day does Butler appoint? By the way, how do "events" of the same sort come on in your family?

Are you possessing houses and lands, and oxen and asses, and men-servants and maid-servants, and begetting sons and daughters? We are not keeping house, but boarding at the Globe Tavern, which is very well kept now by a widow lady of the name of Beck. Our room (the same that Doctor Wallace occupied there) and boarding only costs us four dollars a week. Ann Todd was married something more than a year since to a fellow by the name of Campbell, and who, Mary says, is pretty much of a "dunce," though he has a little money and property. They live in Boonville, Missouri, and have not been heard from lately enough for me to say anything about her health. I reckon it will scarcely be in our power to visit Kentucky this year. Besides poverty and the necessity of attending to business, those "coming events," I suspect, would be somewhat in the way. I most heartily wish you and your Fanny would not fail to come. Just let us know the time, and we will have a room provided for you at our house, and all be merry together for a while.

September 20th. Firm of Logan and Lincoln dissolved; and succeeded immediately by the firm of Lincoln and Herndon. The correspondence of senior member of the new firm is often entertaining.

April 24th, 1844. As to real estate, we can not attend to it. We are not real estate agents, we are lawyers. We recommend that you give the charge of it to Mr. Isaac S. Britton, a trustworthy man and one whom the Lord made on purpose for such business.

The controversy over Texas which disturbs the whole country leads Illinois politicians to say where they stand.

October 3rd, 1845. I perhaps ought to say that individually I never was much interested in the Texas question. I

never could see much good to come of annexation, inasmuch as they were already a free republican people on our own model. On the other hand, I never could very clearly see how the annexation would augment the evil of slavery. It always seemed to me that slaves would be taken there in about equal numbers, with or without annexation. And if more *were* taken because of annexation, still there would be just so many the fewer left where they were taken from. It is possibly true, to some extent, that, with annexation, some slaves may be sent to Texas and continued in slavery that otherwise might have been liberated. To whatever extent this may be true, I think annexation an evil. I hold it to be a paramount duty of us in the free States, due to the Union of the States, and perhaps to liberty itself (paradox though it may seem), to let the slavery of the other States alone; while, on the other hand, I hold it to be equally clear that we should never knowingly lend ourselves, directly or indirectly, to prevent that slavery from dying a natural death—to find new places for it to live in, when it can no longer exist in the old. Of course I am not now considering what would be our duty in cases of insurrection among the slaves.

Lincoln's friend Baker elected to Congress to succeed Hardin. Lincoln hopes to succeed Baker in two years' time, but is disturbed by the prompt strategy of Hardin.

November 17th. (To B. F. James.) The paper of Pekin has nominated Hardin for governor; and, commenting on this, the Alton paper indirectly nominated him for Congress (in 1847). It would give Hardin a great start, and perhaps use me up, if the Whig papers of the district should nominate him for Congress. If your feelings toward me are the same as when I saw you (which I have no reason to doubt), I wish you would let nothing appear in your paper which may operate

against me. You understand. Matters stand just as they did when I saw you. Baker is certainly off the track and I fear Hardin intends to be on it (a second time).

18th. Before Baker left he said to me, in accordance with what had long been an understanding between him and me, that the track for the next congressional race was clear to me so far as he was concerned; and that he would say so publicly in any manner and at any time I might desire. I said in reply, as to the manner and time I would consider a while and write him.

January 7th, 1846. (To Doctor Robert Boal.) If Hardin and I stood precisely equal, if *neither* of us had been to Congress, or, if we *both* had—it would not only accord with what I have always done, for the sake of peace, to give way to him; and I expect I should do it. That I can voluntarily postpone my pretentions, when they are no more than equal to those to which they are postponed, you have yourself seen. But to yield to Hardin under present circumstances, seems to me as nothing else than yielding to one who would gladly sacrifice me altogether. This, I would rather not submit to. That Hardin is talented, energetic, usually generous and magnanimous, I have, before this, affirmed to you, and do not now deny. You know that my only argument is that "turn about is fair play." This he practically, at least, denies.

14th. (To B. F. James.) I should be pleased if I could concur with you in the hope that my name would be the only one presented to the convention; but I can not. Hardin is a man of desperate energy and perseverance, and one that never backs out; and, I fear, to think otherwise is to be deceived in the character of our adversary. I would rejoice to be spared the labor of a contest; but "being in," I shall go it thoroughly, and to the bottom.

The Beardstown paper is entirely in the hands of my friends. The editor is a Whig, and personally dislikes Hardin. When the supreme court shall adjourn (which it is thought

will be about the 15th of February), it is my intention to take a quiet trip through the towns and neighborhoods of Logan County, Delavan, Tremont, and on to and through the upper counties. Don't speak of this, or let it relax any of your vigilance.

15th. (To John Bennett.) Nathan Dresser is here, and speaks as though the contest between Hardin and me is to be doubtful in Menard County—I know he is candid and this alarms me some—I asked him to tell me the names of the men that were going strong for Hardin; he said Morris was about as strong as any. Now tell me, is Morris going it openly? You remember you wrote me that he would be neutral. Nathan also said that some man who he could not remember said lately that Menard County was going to decide the contest and that that made the contest very doubtful. Do you know who that was? Don't fail to write me instantly on receiving, telling me all—particularly the names of those who are going strong against me.

16th. (To B. F. James.) A plan is on foot to change the mode of selecting the candidate for this district. The movement is intended to injure me, and, if effected, most likely would injure me to some extent. I have not time to give particulars now; but I want you to let nothing prevent your getting an article in your paper of this week, taking strong ground for the old system under which Hardin and Baker were nominated without seeming to know or suspect that any one desires to change it.

21st. (To Hardin, declining a proposal to leave the nomination to the electors, avoiding a convention.) It seems to me that on reflection you will see the fact of your having been in Congress has, in various ways, so spread your name in the district as to give you a decided advantage in such a stipulation. I appreciate your desire to keep down excitement; and I promise you to "keep cool" under all circumstances. I have al-

ways been in the habit of acceding to almost any proposal that a friend would make and I am truly sorry that I can not in this. I perhaps ought to mention that some friends at different places are endeavoring to secure the honor of the sitting of the convention at their towns respectively, and I fear that they would not feel much complimented if we shall make a bargain that it should sit nowhere.

21st. (To N. J. Rockwell.) You perhaps know that General Hardin and I have a contest for the Whig nomination to Congress for this district. He has had a term and my argument is "Turn about is fair play." I shall be pleased if this strikes you as a sufficient argument.

February 9th. If I am not, in what I *have done,* and am *able to do,* for the party, near enough the equal of General Hardin, to entitle me to the nomination, I scorn it on *any* and *all* other grounds.

Nominated for Congress after Hardin withdraws from the race.

During the campaign—

(As he is leaving a revival meeting addressed by his political opponent, the Reverend Peter Cartwright, who cries out, "If you are not going to repent, and go to Heaven, Mr. Lincoln, where are you going?")

"I am going to Congress, Brother Cartwright."

Politics, though his paramount interest outside his profession, do not wholly engross his thoughts.

April 18th. (To —— Johnston.) Your letter, written some six weeks since, was received in due course, and also the paper with the parody. It is true, as suggested it might be, that I have never seen Poe's "Raven"; and I very well know

that a parody is almost entirely dependent for its interest upon the reader's acquaintance with the original. Still there is enough in The Polecat, self-considered, to afford one several hearty laughs. I think four or five of the last stanzas are decidedly funny, particularly where Jeremiah "scrubbed and washed, and prayed and fasted."

I have not your letter now before me; but, from memory, I think you ask me who is the author of the piece I sent you and that you do so ask as to indicate a slight suspicion that I myself am the author. Beyond all question I am not the author. I would give all I am worth, and go in debt, to be able to write so fine a piece as I think that is. Neither do I know who is the author. I met it in a straggling form in a newspaper last summer and I remember to have seen it once before, about fifteen years ago, and this is all I know about it. The piece of poetry of my own which I alluded to, I was led to write under the following circumstances. In the fall of 1844, thinking I might aid some to carry the State of Indiana for Mr. Clay, I went into the neighborhood in that State in which I was raised, where my mother and only sister were buried, and from which I had been absent about fifteen years. That part of the country is, within itself, as unpoetical as any spot of the earth; but still, seeing it and its objects and inhabitants, aroused feelings in me which were certainly poetry; though whether my expression of those feelings is poetry is quite another question. When I got to writing, the change of subjects divided the thing into four little divisions or cantos, the first only of which I send you now and may send the others hereafter.

My childhood's home I see again,
And sadden with the view;
And still, as memory crowds my brain,
There's pleasure in it too.

O Memory! thou midway world
'Twixt earth and paradise,
Where things decayed and loved ones lost
In dreamy shadows rise.

And, freed from all that's earthly vile,
Seem hallowed, pure, and bright,
Like scenes in some enchanted isle
All bathed in liquid light.

As dusky mountains please the eye
When twilight chases day;
As bugle-notes that, passing by,
In distance die away;

As leaving some grand waterfall,
We, lingering, list its roar—
So memory will hallow all
We've known, but know no more.

Near twenty years have passed away
Since here I bid farewell
To woods and fields, and scenes of play,
And playmates loved so well.

Where many were, but few remain
Of old familiar things;
But seeing them, to mind again
The lost and absent brings.

The friends I left that parting day,
How changed, as time has sped!
Young childhood grown, strong manhood gray,
And half of all are dead.

I hear the loved survivors tell
How nought from death could save,
Till every sound appears a knell,
And every spot a grave.

I range the fields with pensive tread,
And pace the hollow rooms,
And feel (companion of the dead)
I'm living in the tombs.

The quarrel over the Whig nomination has been very bitter. Lincoln seeks to restore harmony.

26th. (To James Berdan.) I thank you for the promptness with which you answered my letter from Bloomington. I also thank you for the frankness with which you comment upon a certain part of my letter; because that comment affords me an opportunity of trying to express myself better than I did before, seeing, as I do, that in that part of my letter you have not understood me as I intended to be understood. In speaking of the "dissatisfaction" of men who yet mean to do no wrong, &c., I meant no special application of what I said to the Whigs of Morgan, or of Morgan & Scott. I only had in my mind the fact that previous to General Hardin's withdrawal some of his friends and some of mine had become a little warm; and I felt, and meant to say, that for them now to meet face to face and converse together was the best way to efface any remnant of unpleasant feeling, if any such existed. I did not suppose that General Hardin's friends were in any greater need of having their feelings corrected than mine were.

May 7th. It is a matter of high moral obligation, if not of necessity, for me to attend the Coles and Edgar courts. I have some cases in both of them in which the parties have my promise and are depending upon me.

August. Elected to Congress, for the session beginning December, 1847.

May 12, 1847. Outbreak of the Mexican War. All the Whigs, Lincoln not excepted, take a relatively non-committal attitude toward this Democratic project.

June. All those who, because of knowing too little, or because of knowing too much, can not conscientiously oppose

the conduct of the President [Polk] in beginning [the war], should nevertheless as good citizens and good patriots, remain silent on that point, at least until the war is ended.*

October 22nd. (To Joshua F. Speed.) You, no doubt, assign the suspension of our correspondence to the true philosophic cause; though it must be confessed by both of us that this is rather a cold reason for allowing a friendship such as ours to die out by degrees. I propose now, that upon receipt of this you shall be considered in my debt and under obligations to pay soon, and that neither shall remain long in arrears hereafter. Are you agreed?

Being elected to Congress, though I am very grateful to our friends for having done it, has not pleased me as much as I expected.

We have another boy, born the 10th of March. He is very much such a child as Bob was at his age, rather of a longer order. Bob is "short and low," and I expect always will be. He talks very plainly—almost as plainly as anybody. He is quite smart enough. I sometimes fear that he is one of the little rare-ripe sort that are smarter at about five than ever after. He has a great deal of that sort of mischief that is the offspring of such animal spirits. Since I began this letter, a messenger came to tell me Bob was lost; but by the time I reached the house his mother had found him and had him whipped, and by now, very likely, he is run away again. Mary has read your letter and wishes to be remembered to Mrs. Speed and you, in which I most sincerely join her.

November. Leaves Springfield for Washington.

December 5th, Washington.

(To William H. Herndon.) You may remember that about a year ago a man by the name of Wilson (James Wilson,

*See pp. 67-69.

I think) paid us twenty dollars as an advance fee to attend to a case in the Supreme Court for him, against a Mr. Campbell, the record of which case was in the hands of Mr. Dixon of St. Louis, who never furnished it to us. When I was at Bloomington last fall, I met a friend of Wilson, who mentioned the subject to me and induced me to write to Wilson, telling him I would leave the ten dollars with you which had been left with me to pay for making abstracts in the case so that the case may go on this winter; but I came away, and forgot to do it. What I want now is to send you the money to be used accordingly, if any one comes on to start the case, or to be retained by you if no one does.

13th. (To William H. Herndon.) Your letter advising me of the receipt of our fee in the bank-case, is just received, and I don't expect to hear another as good piece of news from Springfield while I am away. I am under no obligations to the bank; and I therefore wish you to buy bank certificates and pay my debt there, so as to pay it with the least money possible. I would as soon you should buy them of Mr. Ridgely, or any other person at the bank, as of any one else, provided you can get them as cheaply. I suppose after the bank debt shall be paid, there will be some money left out of which I would like to have you pay Lavely and Stout twenty dollars, and Priest and somebody (oil-makers) ten dollars, for materials got for house-painting. If there shall still be any left, keep it till you see or hear from me.

The Whigs are badgering the President for bringing on the war though they do not quite dare to refuse to support it. Lincoln introduces his famous "Spot Resolutions."

22nd. (Resolutions introduced into the House of Representatives.) Whereas, The President of the United States, in his message of May 11, 1846, has declared that "the Mexican

Government not only refused to receive him (the envoy of the United States), or to listen to his propositions, but, after a long-continued series of menaces, has at last invaded *our territory* and shed the blood of our fellow-citizens on *our own soil.*

Resolved, By the House of Representatives, that the President of the United States be respectfully requested to inform this House,—

1st. Whether the spot on which the blood of our citizens was shed, as in his message declared, was or was not within the territory of Spain, at least after the treaty of 1819, until the Mexican revolution.

2d. Whether that spot is or is not within the territory which was wrested from Spain by the revolutionary government of Mexico.

3d. Whether that spot is or is not within a settlement of people, which settlement has existed ever since long before the Texas revolution, and until its inhabitants fled before the approach of the United States army.

4th. Whether that settlement is or is not isolated from any and all other settlements by the Gulf and the Rio Grande on the south and west, and by wide uninhabited regions on the north and east.

5th. Whether the people of that settlement, or a majority of them, or any of them, have ever submitted themselves to the government or laws of Texas or of the United States, by consent or by compulsion, either by accepting office, or voting at elections, or paying tax, or serving on juries, or having process served upon them, or in any other way.

6th. Whether the people of that settlement did or did not flee from the approach of the United States army, leaving unprotected their homes and their growing crops, *before* the blood was shed, as in the message stated; and whether the first blood, so shed, was or was not shed within the inclosure of one of the people who had thus fled from it.

7th. Whether our *citizens,* whose blood was shed, as in his message declared, were or were not, at that time, armed officers and soldiers, sent into that settlement by the military order of the President, through the Secretary of War.

8th. Whether the military force of the United States was or was not so sent into that settlement after General Taylor had more than once intimated to the War Department, that, in his opinion, no such movement was necessary to the defense or protection of Texas.

1848

January 1st. There is a good deal of diversity among the Whigs, as to who shall be their candidate for the Presidency, but I think it will result in favor of General Taylor.

As to Mr. Graham's application for a Lieutenancy, I have already submitted it to the President in the best way I could think of to give it chance of success. I wrote him about it; and do not know anything more that I can do for him. I can have no intimacy with the President, which might give me personal influence over him.

Lincoln begins to learn the ways of Congress which has formalities that are new to him.

5th. (From the *Congressional Globe.*) Mr. Lincoln said he had made an effort, some few days since, to obtain the floor in relation to this measure (resolution requiring the Postmaster General to make new arrangement for carrying the mails), but had failed. One of the objects he had then had in view was now in a great measure superseded by what had fallen from the gentleman from Virginia who had just taken his seat. He begged to assure his friends on the other side of the House that no assault whatever was meant upon the Postmaster General; and he was glad that what the gentleman had now said, modified to a great extent by the impression which might have been created by the language he had used on a previous occasion. He wanted to state to gentlemen who might have entertained such impressions, that the Committee on the Post Office was composed of five Whigs and four Democrats, and

their report was understood as sustaining, not impugning, the position taken by the Postmaster General. That report had met with the approbation of all the Whigs and of all the Democrats also, with the exception of one, and he wanted to go even further than this. (Intimation was informally given Mr. L. that it was not in order to mention on the floor what had taken place in committee.) He then observed that if he had been out of order in what he had said, he took it all back so far as he could. He had no desire, he could assure gentlemen, ever to be out of order—though he never could keep long in order.

8th. (To William H. Herndon.) As to speech-making, by way of getting the hang of the House I made a little speech two or three days ago on a post-office question of no general interest. I find speaking *here* and *elsewhere* about the same thing. I was about as badly scared, and no worse, as I am when I speak in court. I expect to make one within a week or two in which I hope to succeed well enough to wish you to see it.

It is very pleasant to learn from you that there are some who desire that I should be reelected. I most heartily thank them for their kind partiality; and I can say, as Mr. Clay said of the annexation of Texas, that "*personally* I would not object" to a reelection, although I thought at the time, and still think, it would be quite as well for me to return to the law at the end of a single term. I made the declaration that I would not be a candidate again, more from a wish to deal fairly with others, to keep peace among our friends and to keep the district from going to the enemy, than for any cause personal to myself; so that, if it should so happen that *nobody else wishes to be elected,* I could not refuse the people the right of sending me again. But to enter myself as a competitor of others, or to authorize any one so to enter me, is what my word and honor forbid.

After a year in Congress Lincoln tries his hand formulating the Whig doctrine that the President is a rascal but the war must be carried through.

12th. (In the United States House of Representatives.) Mr. Chairman: Some, if not all, the gentlemen on the other side of the House who have addressed the committee within the last two days, have spoken rather complainingly, if I have rightly understood them, of the vote given a week or ten days ago declaring that the war with Mexico was unnecessarily and unconstitutionally commenced by the President. I admit that such a vote should not be given in mere party wantonness, and that the one given is justly censurable, if it have no other or better foundation. I am one of those who joined in that vote; and I did so under my best impression of the *truth* of the case. How I got this impression, and how it may possibly be remedied, I will now try to show. When the war began, it was my opinion that all those who because of knowing too *little,* or because of knowing too *much,* could not conscientiously oppose the conduct of the President (in the beginning of it), should, nevertheless, as good citizens and patriots, remain silent on that point, at least till the war should be ended. Some leading Democrats, including ex-President Van Buren, have taken this same view, as I understand them; and I adhered to it and acted upon it, until since I took my seat here; and I think I should still adhere to it were it not that the President and his friends will not allow it to be so. Besides the continual effort of the President to argue every silent vote given for supplies into an indorsement of the justice and wisdom of his conduct; besides that singularly candid paragraph in his late message in which he tells us that Congress with great unanimity (only two in the Senate and fourteen in the House dissenting), had declared that "by the act of the Republic of Mexico, a state of war exists between that Government and the United States," when

the same journals that informed him of this also informed him that when that declaration stood disconnected from the question of supplies sixty-seven in the House, and not fourteen merely, voted against it; besides this open contempt to prove by telling the *truth* what he could not prove by telling the *whole truth,* demanding of all who will not submit to be misrepresented, in justice to themselves, to speak out, besides all this, one of my colleagues (Mr. Richardson), at a very early day in the session brought in a set of resolutions expressly indorsing the original justice of the war on the part of the President. Upon these resolutions when they shall be put on their passage I shall be *compelled* to vote; so that I can not be silent if I would.

As to the country now in question, we bought it of France in 1803, and sold it to Spain in 1819, according to the President's statements. After this, all Mexico, including Texas, revolutionized against Spain; still later Texas revolutionized against Mexico. In my view, just so far as she carried her resolution by obtaining the *actual,* willing or unwilling, submission of the people, *so far* the country was hers, and no farther.

Now, sir, for the purpose of obtaining the very best evidence as to whether Texas had actually carried her revolution to the place where the hostilities of the present war commenced, let the President answer the interrogatories I proposed, as before mentioned, or some other similar ones. Let him answer fully, fairly, and candidly. Let him answer with *facts* and not with arguments. Let him remember he sits where Washington sat; and, so remembering, let him answer as Washington would answer. As a nation *should* not, and the Almighty *will* not, be evaded, so let him attempt no evasion, no equivocation. And if, so answering, he can show that the soil was ours where the first blood of the war was shed; that it was not within an inhabited country, or, if within such,

that the inhabitants had submitted themselves to the civil authority of Texas or of the United States, and that the same is true of the site of Fort Brown—then I am with him for his justification. In that case I shall be most happy to reverse the vote I gave the other day.

February 1st. (To William H. Herndon.) Your letter of the 19th ult. was received last night, and for which I am much obliged. The only thing in it that I wish to talk to you about at once is, that because of my vote for Ashmun's amendment you fear that you and I disagree about the war. I regret this, not because of any fear we shall remain disagreed after you have read this letter, but because if *you* misunderstand I fear other good friends may also. That vote affirms that the war was unnecessarily and unconstitutionally commenced by the President; and I will stake my life that if you had been in my place you would have voted just as I did. Would you have voted what you felt and knew to be a lie? I know you would not. Would you have gone out of the House—skulked the vote? I expect not. If you had skulked one vote you would have had to skulk many more before the end of the session. Richardson's resolutions, introduced before I made any move or gave any vote upon the subject, make the direct question of the justice of the war; so that no man can be silent if he would. You are compelled to speak; and your only alternative is to tell the *truth* or a *lie*. I can not doubt which you would do.

This vote has nothing to do in determining my votes on the question of supplies. I have always intended, and still intend, to vote supplies: perhaps not in the precise form recommended by the President, but in a better form for all purposes, except Locofoco party purposes. It is in this particular you seem mistaken. The Locos are untiring in their efforts to make the impression that all who vote supplies or take part in the war do of necessity approve the President's conduct in the

beginning of it; but the Whigs have from the beginning made and kept the distinction between the two. In the very first act nearly all the Whigs voted against the preamble declaring that war existed by the act of Mexico; and yet nearly all of them voted *for* the supplies. I do not mean this letter for the public, but for you. Before it reaches you, you will have seen and read my pamphlet speech, and, perhaps, been scared anew by it. After you get over your scare, read it over again, sentence by sentence, and tell me honestly what you think of it. I condensed all I could for fear of being cut off by the hour rule; and when I got through, I had spoken but forty-five minutes.

2nd. I just take my pen to say that Mr. Stephens, of Georgia, a little, slim, pale-faced, consumptive man, with a voice like Logan's, has just concluded the very best speech of an hour's length I ever heard. My old, withered, dry eyes are full of tears yet.

4th. There now is some probability of peace, but should the war go on, I think volunteers with the right of electing their own officers will be voted, but that no more regulars will be voted.

15th. (To William H. Herndon.) Your letter of the 29th of January was received last night. Being exclusively a constitutional argument, I wish to submit some reflections upon it in the same spirit of kindness that I know actuates you. Let me first state what I understand to be your position. It is that if it shall become necessary to *repel invasion,* the President may, without violation of the Constitution, cross the line, and *invade* the territory of another country; and that whether such *necessity* exists in any given case the President is the *sole* judge.

Before going further, consider well whether this is or is not your position. If it is, it is a position that neither the President himself, nor any friend of his, so far as I know, has

ever taken. Their only positions are, first, that the soil was ours when the hostilities commenced; and second, that whether it was rightfully *ours* or not, *Congress had annexed it,* and the President for that reason was bound to defend it; both of which are as clearly proved to be false in fact as you can prove that your house is mine. The soil was not ours, and Congress did not annex or attempt to annex it. But to return to your position. Allow the President to invade a neighboring nation whenever he shall deem it necessary to repel an invasion, and you allow him to do so *whenever he may choose to say* he deems it necessary for such purposes, and you allow him to make war at pleasure. Study to see if you can fix *any limit* to his power in this respect after having given him so much as you propose. If to-day he should choose to say he thinks it necessary to invade Canada to prevent the British from invading us, how could you stop him? You may say to him, "I see no probability of the British invading us"; but he will say to you, "Be silent; I see it, if you don't."

The provision of the Constitution giving the war-making power to Congress was dictated, as I understand it, by the following reasons: kings had always been involving and impoverishing their people in wars, pretending generally, if not always, that the good of the people was the object. This our convention understood to be the most oppressive of all kingly oppressions, and they resolved to so frame the Constitution that no one man should hold the power of bringing this oppression upon us. But your view destroys the whole matter and places our President where kings have always stood. Write soon again.

In the midst of eloquence over foreign policy shrewd schemes for the next election are not forgotten.

30th. (To Archibald Williams.) I have not seen in the papers any evidence of a movement to send a delegate from

your circuit to the June convention. I wish to say that I think it all-important that a delegate should be sent. Mr. Clay's chance for an election is just no chance at all. He might get New York, and that would have elected in 1844, but it will not now, because he must now, at the least, lose Tennessee, which he had then and in addition the fifteen *new* votes of Florida, Texas, Iowa and Wisconsin. I know our good friend Browning is a great admirer of Mr. Clay, and I therefore fear he is favoring his nomination. If he is, I ask him to discard feeling, and try if he can possibly, as a matter of judgment, count the votes necessary to elect him.

In my judgment we can elect nobody but General Taylor; and we can not elect him without a nomination. Therefore don't fail to send a delegate.

Taylor is nominated by the Whigs.

June 12th. (To Archibald Williams.) On my return from Philadelphia, where I had been attending the nomination of "Old Rough" [Taylor] I found your letter in a mass of others which had accumulated in my absence. By many, and often, it had been said they would not abide the nomination of Taylor; but, since the deed has been done, they are fast falling in, and in my opinion we shall have a most overwhelming, glorious triumph. One unmistakable sign is that all the odds and ends are with us—Barnburners, Native Americans, Tyler men, disappointed office-seeking Locofocos, and the Lord knows what. This is important, if in nothing else, in showing which way the wind blows.

22nd. (To William H. Herndon.) Last night I was attending a sort of caucus of the Whig members held in relation to the coming Presidential election. The whole field of the nation was scanned; and all is high hope and confidence.

You young men get together and form a Rough and Ready

Club, and have regular meetings and speeches. Take in everybody you can get. Harrison, Grimsley, L. A. Enos. See Kimball and C. W. Matheny will do to begin the thing; but as you go along gather up all the shrewd, wild boys about town, whether just of age or a little under age—Chris. Logan, Reddick Ridgdey, Lewis Zurzler, and hundreds such. Let every one play the part he can play best—some speak, some sing, and all "holler." Your meetings will be of evenings; and older men, and the women, will go to hear you; so that it will not only contribute to the election of "Old Zack," but will be an interesting pastime and improving to the intellectual faculties of all engaged. Don't fail to do this.

You ask me to send you all the speeches made about "Old Zack," the war, etc., etc. Now this makes me a little impatient. I have regularly sent you the *Congressional Globe* and *"Appendix,"* and you can not have examined them, or you would have discovered that they contain every speech made by every man in both Houses of Congress, on every subject, during the session.

Lincoln draws up his views as to how Taylor ought to deal with the subjects of the hour.

July 1st. The question of a national bank is at rest. Were I President, I should not urge its reagitation upon Congress; but should Congress see fit to pass an act to establish such an institution, I should not arrest it by the veto, unless I should consider it subject to some constitutional objection from which I believe the two former banks to have been free.

It appears to me that the national debt created by the war renders a modification of the existing tariff indispensable; and when it shall be modified I should be pleased to see it adjusted with a due reference to the protection of our home industry. The particulars, it appears to me, must and should be left to the untrammeled discretion of Congress.

At Springfield the younger Whigs are not altogether satisfied with their leader.

2nd: (To Mrs. Lincoln.) My dear wife: Your letter of last Sunday came last night— On that day (Sunday) I wrote the principal part of a letter to you, but did not finish it, or send it till Tuesday, when I had provided a draft for $100 which I sent in it— It is now probable that on that day (Tuesday) you started to Shelbyville; so that when the money reaches Lexington, you will not be there— Before leaving, did you make any provision about letters that might come to Lexington for you? Write me whether you got the draft, if you shall not have already done so, when this reaches you— Give my kindest regards to your uncle John, and all the family— Thinking of them reminds me that I saw your acquaintance, Newton, of Arkansas, at the Philadelphia Convention— We had but a single interview, and that was so brief, and in so great a multitude of strange faces, that I am quite sure I should not recognize him, if I were to meet him again— He was a sort of Trinity, three in one, having the right, in his own person, to cast the three votes of Arkansas— Two or three days ago I sent your uncle John, and a few of our other friends each a copy of the speech I mentioned in my last letter; but I did not send any to you, thinking you would be on the road here, before it would reach you— I send you one now— Last Wednesday, P. H. Hood & Co. dunned me for a little bill of $5—50 cents, for goods which they say you bought— I hesitated to pay them, because my recollection is that you told me when you went away, that there was nothing left unpaid— Mention in your next letter whether they are right—

Mrs. Richardson is still here; and what is more, has a baby—so Richardson says, and he ought to know— I believe Mary Hewett has left here and gone to Boston— I

met her on the street about fifteen or twenty days ago, and she told me she was going soon— I have seen nothing of her since—

The music in the Capitol grounds on Saturdays, or, rather, the interest in it, is dwindling down to nothing— Yesterday evening the attendance was rather thin— Our two girls, whom you remember seeing first at Canisis, at the exhibition of the Ethiopian Serenaders, and whose peculiarities were the wearing of black fur bonnets, and never being seen in close company with other ladies, were at the music yesterday— One of them was attended by their brother, and the other had a member of Congress in tow— He went home with her; and if I were to guess, I would say, he went away a somewhat altered man—most likely in his pockets, and in some other particular— The fellow looked conscious of guilt, although I believe he was unconscious that everybody around knew who it was that had caught him—

I have had no letter from home, since I wrote you before, except short business letters, which have no interest for you—

By the way, you do not intend to do without a girl, because the one you had has left you? Get another as soon as you can to take charge of the dear codgers— Father expected to see you all sooner; but let it pass; stay as long as you please, and come when you please— Kiss and love the dear rascals— Affectionately A. Lincoln

10th. (To Herndon.) The subject of [your] letter is exceedingly painful to me; and I can not but think there is some mistake in your impression of the motives of the old men. I suppose I am now one of the old men; and I declare, on my veracity, which I think is good with you, that nothing could afford me more satisfaction than to learn that you and others of my young friends at home are doing battle in the contest and endearing themselves to the people and taking a stand far above any I have ever been able to reach in their admiration.

I can not conceive that other old men feel differently. Of course I can not demonstrate what I say; but I was young once, and I am sure I was never ungenerously thrust back. I hardly know what to say. The way for a young man to rise is to improve himself in every way he can, never suspecting that anybody wishes to hinder him. Allow me to assure you that suspicion and jealousy never did help any man in any situation. There may sometimes be ungenerous attempts to keep a young man down; and they will succeed, too, if he allows his mind to be diverted from its true channel to brood over the attempted injury. Cast about, and see if this feeling has not injured every person you have ever known to fall into it.

Like all the other politicians in Congress, Lincoln makes political speeches that have nothing to do with the business before the House.

27th. (In the House.) Mr. Speaker, it is no business or inclination of mine to defend Martin Van Buren. In the war of extermination now waging between him and his old admirers, I say, "Devil take the hindmost"—and the foremost. But there is no mistaking the origin of the breach: and if the curse of "stinking" and "rotting" is to fall on the first and greatest violators of principle in the matter, I disinterestedly suggest that the gentleman from Georgia and his present co-workers are bound to take it upon themselves. But the gentleman from Georgia further says we have deserted all our principles, and taken shelter under General Taylor's military coat-tail, and he seems to think this is exceedingly degrading. Well, as his faith is, so be it unto him. But can he remember no other military coat-tail under which a certain other party has been sheltering, for near a quarter of a century? Has he no acquaintance with the ample military coat-tail of General Jackson? Does he not know that his own party has run the five last presidential races under that coat-tail? And that they are

now running the sixth under the same cover? Yes, sir, that coat-tail was used not only for General Jackson himself, but has been clung to, with the grip of death, by every Democratic candidate since. You have never ventured, and dare not now venture, from under it. Your campaign papers have constantly been "Old Hickories," with rude likenesses of the old general upon them; hickory poles and hickory brooms your never-ending emblems; Mr. Polk himself was "Young Hickory," "Little Hickory," or something so; and even now your campaign paper here is proclaiming that Cass and Butler are of the true "Hickory stripe." Now, sir, you dare not give it up. Like a horde of hungry ticks you have stuck to the tail of the Hermitage lion to the end of his life; and you are still sticking to it, and drawing a loathsome sustenance from it, after he is dead.

But in my hurry I was very near closing this subject of military tails before I was done with it. There is one entire article of the sort I have not discussed yet; I mean the military tail you Democrats are now engaged in dove-tailing into the great Michigander. Yes, sir, all his biographers (and they are legion) have him in hand, tying him to a military tail, like so many mischievous boys tying a dog to a bladder of beans. True, the material they have is very limited, but they drive at it might and main. He *in*vaded Canada without resistance, and he *out*vaded it without pursuit. As he did both under orders, I suppose there was, to him, neither credit nor discredit in them; but they constitute a large part of the tail. He was not at Hull's surrender, but he was close by; he was volunteer aide to General Harrison on the day of the battle of the Thames; and as you said in 1840 Harrison was picking huckleberries two miles off while the battle was fought, I suppose it is a just conclusion with you to say Cass was aiding Harrison to pick whortleberries. This is about all, except the mooted question of the broken sword. Some authors say he broke it;

some say he threw it away; and some others, who ought to know, say nothing about it. Perhaps it would be a fair historical compromise to say, if he did not break it, he did not do anything else with it.

By the way, Mr. Speaker, did you know I am a military hero? Yes, sir; in the days of the Black Hawk war I fought, bled, and came away. Speaking of General Cass's career reminds me of my own. I was not at Stillman's defeat, but I was about as near it as Cass was to Hull's surrender; and, like him, I saw the place very soon afterward. It is quite certain I did not break my sword, for I had none to break; but I bent a musket pretty badly on one occasion. If Cass broke his sword, the idea is he broke it in desperation; I bent the musket by accident. If General Cass went in advance of me in picking whortleberries, I guess I surpassed him in charges upon the wild onions. If he saw any live, fighting Indians, it was more than I did; but I had a good many bloody struggles with the mosquitoes; and although I never fainted from the loss of blood, I can truly say I was often very hungry.

Mr. Speaker, if I should ever conclude to doff whatever our Democratic friends may suppose there is of black-cockade Federalism about me, and therefore they shall take me up as their candidate for the Presidency, I protest they shall not make fun of me, as they have of General Cass, by attempting to write me into a military hero.

August 8th. I am remaining here [Washington] for two weeks to frank documents.

28th. The news we are receiving here now from all parts is on the look-up. We have had several letters from Ohio today, all encouraging. . . . The tone of the letters—free from despondency—full of hope—is what particularly encourages me. If a man is scared when he writes, I think I can detect it, when I see what he writes.

September. During the adjournment of Congress Lincoln makes a number of speeches in New England.

September 12th. (Report of Speech Delivered at Worcester, Massachusetts.) Mr. Lincoln has a very tall and thin figure, with an intellectual face, showing a searching mind and a cool judgment. He spoke in a clear, cool and very eloquent manner, for an hour and a half, carrying the audience with him in his able arguments and brilliant illustrations—only interrupted by warm and frequent applause. He began by expressing a real feeling of modesty in addressing an audience "this side of the mountains," a part of the country where, in the opinion of the people of his section, everybody was supposed to be instructed and wise. But he had devoted his attention to the question of the coming presidential election, and was not unwilling to exchange with all whom he might the ideas to which he had arrived. He then began to show the fallacy of some of the arguments against General Taylor, making his chief theme the fashionable statement of all those who oppose him ("the old Locofocos as well as the new"), that he *has no principles,* and that the Whig party have abandoned their principles by adopting him as their candidate.

Mr. Lincoln then passed to the subject of slavery in the States, saying that the people of Illinois agreed entirely with the people of Massachusetts on this subject, except perhaps that they did not keep so constantly thinking about it. All agreed that slavery was an evil, but that we were not responsible for it and can not affect it in states of this Union where we do not live. But the question of the *extension* of slavery to new territories of this country is a part of our responsibility and care, and is under our control.

The "Free Soil" men in claiming that name indirectly attempt a deception by implying that Whigs were *not* Free Soil men. In declaring that they would "do their duty and leave

the consequences to God," merely gave an excuse for taking a course they were not able to maintain by a fair and full argument. To make this declaration did not show what their duty was. If it did we should have no use for judgment, we might as well be made without intellect, and when divine or human law does not clearly point out what *is* our duty, we have no means of finding out what it is by using our most intelligent judgment of the consequences.

22nd. (To William H. Seward, following the meeting at Tremont Temple, Boston, where both were speakers.)

Governor Seward, I have been thinking about what you said in your speech. I reckon you are right. We have got to deal with this slavery question and got to give much more attention to it hereafter than we have been doing.

Visits Niagara Falls while on the way home to Illinois.

The thing that struck me most forcibly when I saw the Falls was, where in the world did all that water come from?

At Springfield, finds that the younger Whigs do not like his course in Congress and that the older Whigs are losing influence. No chance for him to be renominated. He returns to Washington.

His father with whom he corresponded so little writes him a singular letter which causes the son to feel misgivings.

December 24th, Washington.

(To Thomas Lincoln.) Your letter of the 7th was received night before last. I very cheerfully send you the twenty dollars, which sum you say is necessary to save your land from sale. It is singular that you should have forgotten a judgment against you; and it is more singular that the plaintiff should

have let you forget it so long, particularly as I suppose you always had property enough to satisfy a judgment of that amount. Before you pay it, it would be well to be sure you have not paid, or at least that you can not prove that you have paid it.

Give my love to mother and all connections. Affectionately your son—*

*The character of Thomas Lincoln has been much discussed. The evidence with regard to him is slight and indirect. Does not this letter indicate a doubt of his veracity in the mind of his son?

1849-1853

As his term draws to a close he puts himself on record with regard to slavery by introducing a bill in which the House has so little interest that a vote upon it is evaded.

January 16th, 1849. (From the *Congressional Globe.*) Mr. Lincoln moved the following amendment in the House of Representatives in Congress, instructing the proper committee to report a bill for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, with the consent of the voters of the District, and with compensation to owners.*

As his term is almost ended, Lincoln enters upon his one attempt at office seeking—through wire-pulling in Washington.

20th. I believe that so far as the Whigs in Congress are concerned, I could have the General Land Office (at Washington) almost by common consent; but then Sweet and Don Morrison and Browning and Cyrus Edwards all want it, and what is worse, while I think I could easily take it myself, I fear I shall have trouble to get it for any other man in Illinois. The reason is that McGaughey, an Indiana ex-member of Congress, is here after it, and being personally known, he will be hard to beat by any one who is not.†

*The text of Lincoln's emancipation bill is in the *Congressional Globe,* January 16, 1849; also in Nicolay and Hay, 1, 286-288; in the Biographical edition of his *Complete Works,* and in the Putnam edition of his *Complete Writings.*

†See pp. 85-89 for the subsequent history of this curious matter.

February 20th. (To C. R. Welles.) This is Tuesday evening, and your letter enclosing the one of Young & Brothers to you, saying the money sent by me to them had not been received, came to hand last Saturday night. The facts, which are perfectly fresh in my recollection, are these: You gave me the money in a letter (open, I believe) directed to Young & Brothers. To make it more secure than it would be in my hat, where I carry most all my packages, I put it in my trunk. I had a great many jobs to do in St. Louis; and by the very extra care I had taken of yours, overlooked it. On the Steam Boat near the mouth of the Ohio, I opened the trunk, and discovered the letter. I then began to cast about for some safe hand to send it back by. Mr. Yeatman, Judge Pope's son-in-law, and stepson of Mr. Bell of Tennessee, was on board, and was to return immediately to St. Louis, from the Mouth of Cumberland. At my request, he took the letter and promised to deliver it, and I heard no more about it till I received your letter on Saturday. It so happens that Mr. Yeatman is now in this City; I called on him last night about it; he said he remembered my giving him the letter, and he could remember nothing more of it. He told me he would try and refresh his memory, and see me again concerning it to-day, which, however, he has not done. I will try to see him to-morrow and write you again. He is a young man, as I understand, of unquestioned, and unquestionable character; and this makes me fear some pickpocket on the boat may have seen me give him the letter, and slipped it from him. In this way, never seeing the letter again, he would, naturally enough, never think of it again.

March 3rd. Congressional career ends.

4th. Attends Taylor's inaugural ball. Member of committee on arrangements.

9th. (To the Secretary of the Treasury.) Colonel E. D. Baker and myself are the only Whig members of Con-

gress from Illinois—I of the Thirtieth, and he of the Thirty-first. We have reason to think the Whigs of that State hold us responsible, to some extent, for the appointments which may be made of our citizens. We do not know you personally; and our efforts to see you have, so far, been unavailing. I therefore hope I am not obtrusive in saying in this way, for him and myself, that when a citizen of Illinois is to be appointed in your department, to an office either in or out of the State, we most respectfully ask to be heard.

Returns to Springfield and out of savings from his salary as Congressman pays off the last of the debt contracted at New Salem fifteen years before.

Resumes the practise of law.

Wire-pulling over the land office continues, both with regard to the Washington appointees and the local appointees.

April 7th. Springfield.

(To the Secretary of the Interior.) I recommend that Walter Davis be appointed receiver of the land office at this place, whenever there shall be a vacancy. I can not say that Mr. Herndon, the present incumbent, has failed in the proper discharge of any of the duties of the office. He is a very warm partisan, and openly and actively opposed to the election of General Taylor. I also understand that since General Taylor's election, he has received a reappointment from Mr. Polk, his old commission not having expired. Whether this is true the records of the department will show. I may add that the Whigs here almost universally desire his removal.

I give no opinion of my own, but state the facts, and express the hope that the department will act in this as in all other cases on some proper general rule.

I recommend that Turner R. King, now of Pekin, Illinois, be appointed register of the land office at this place whenever there shall be a vacancy.

(To W. B. Warren and others.) In answer to your note concerning the General Land Office I have to say that, if the office could be secured to Illinois by my consent to accept it, and not otherwise, I give that consent. Some months since I gave my word to secure the appointment to that office of Mr. Cyrus Edwards, if in my power, in case of a vacancy; and more recently I stipulated with Colonel Baker that if Mr. Edwards and Colonel J. L. D. Morrison could arrange with each other for one of them to withdraw, we would jointly recommend the other. In relation to these pledges, I must not only be chaste, but above suspicion. If the office shall be tendered to me, I must be permitted to say: "Give it to Mr. Edwards or, if so agreed by them, to Colonel Morrison, and I decline it; if not, I accept." With this understanding you are at liberty to procure me the offer of the appointment if you can; and I shall feel complimented by your effort, and still more by its success.

25th. (To ———— Thompson.) A tirade is still kept up against me here for recommending (April 7) T. R. King. This morning it is openly avowed that my supposed influence at Washington shall be broken down generally, and King's prospects defeated in particular. Now, what I have done in this matter I have done at the request of you and some other friends in Tazewell; and I therefore ask you to either admit it is wrong, or come forward and sustain me.

May 10th. (To the Secretary of the Interior.) I regret troubling you so often in relation to the land-offices here, but I hope you will perceive the necessity of it, and excuse me. On the 7th of April I wrote you recommending Turner R. King for register, and Walter Davis for receiver. Subsequently I wrote you that, for a private reason, I had concluded to transpose them. That private reason was the request of an old personal friend who himself desired to be receiver, but whom I felt it my duty to refuse a recommen-

dation. He said if I would transpose King and Davis he would be satisfied. I thought it a whim, but, anxious to oblige him, I consented. Immediately he commenced an assault upon King's character, intending, as I suppose, to defeat his appointment, and thereby secure another chance for himself. This double offense of bad faith to me and slander upon a good man is so totally outrageous that I now ask to have King and Davis placed as I originally recommended—that is, King for register and Davis for receiver.

18th. (To Duff Green.) I learn from Washington that a man by the name of Butterfield will probably be appointed Commissioner of the General Land Office. This ought not to be. That is about the only crumb of patronage which Illinois expects; and I am sure the mass of General Taylor's friends here would quite as lief see it go east of the Alleghenies, or west of the Rocky Mountains, as into that man's hands. They are already sore on the subject of his getting office. In the great contest of 1840 he was not seen or heard of; but when the victory came, three or four old drones, including him, got all the valuable offices, through what influence no one has yet been able to tell. I believe the only time he has been very active was last spring a year ago, in opposition to General Taylor's nomination.

Now can not you get the ear of General Taylor? Ewing is for Butterfield, and therefore he must be avoided. Preston, I think, will favor you. Mr. Edwards has written me offering to decline, but I advised him not to do so. Some kind friends think I ought to be an appellant, but I am for Mr. Edwards. Try to defeat Butterfield, and in doing so use Mr. Edwards, J. L. D. Morrison, or myself, whichever you can to best advantage. Write me, and let this be confidential.

19th. Butterfield will be Commissioner of the General Land Office, unless prevented by strong and speedy efforts. Ewing is for him and he is only not appointed yet because old Zach. [Taylor] hangs fire.

By way of variety in the midst of his political anxieties he devises a curious invention and applies for a patent.

22nd. What I claim as my invention, and desire to secure by letters patent, is the combination of expansible buoyant chambers placed at the sides of a vessel with the main shaft or shafts by means of the sliding spars which pass down through the buoyant chambers and are made fast to their bottoms and the series of ropes and pulleys or their equivalents in such a manner that by turning the main shaft or shafts in one direction the buoyant chambers will be forced downwards into the water, and at the same time expanded and filled with air for buoying up the vessel by the displacement of water, and by turning the shafts in an opposite direction the buoyant chambers will be contracted into a small space and secured against injury.

Returning to the problem of the Land Office—

25th. (To E. Embree.) I understand that the General Land Office is about to be given to Illinois, and that Mr. Ewing desires Justin Butterfield of Chicago, to be the man. I give you my word, the appointment of Mr. Butterfield will be an egregious offense to the whole Whig party here, and be worse than a dead loss to the administration of so much of its patronage.

There are other questions of patronage.

June 5th. (To William H. Herndon.) There must be some mistake about Walter Davis saying I promised him the Post-office. I did not so promise him. I did tell him that if the distribution of the offices should fall into my hands, he should have anything; and if I shall be convinced he has said any more than this, I shall be disappointed.

I said this much to him because, as I understand, he is of *good character,* is one of the *young* men, is of the *mechanics,* and always *faithful* and never troublesome; a Whig, and is *poor,* with the support of a widow mother thrown almost exclusively on him by the death of his brother. If these are wrong reasons, then I have been wrong; but I have certainly not been selfish in it, because in my greatest need of friends he was against me, and for Baker.

At last he decides to play his own hand with regard to the Land Office.

8th. (To Nathaniel Pope.) I do not know that it would, but I can well enough conceive it might embarrass you to now give a letter recommending me for the General Land Office. Could you not, however, without embarrassment or any impropriety, so far indicate the truth of history as to briefly state to me, in a letter, what you did say to me last spring, on my arrival here from Washington, in relation to my becoming an applicant for that office? Having at last concluded to be an applicant, I have thought it is perhaps due to me to be enabled to show the influences which brought me to the conclusion, and of which influences the wishes and opinions you expressed, were not the least.

Butterfield, with strong backing at Washington, succeeds in obtaining the Land Office appointment.

Unexpected bitterness in connection with the Land Office.

July 13th. Mr. Edwards is unquestionably offended with me in connection with the matter of the General Land Office. He wrote a letter against me which was filed at the Department.

The better part of one's life consists of his friendships; and, of them, mine with Mr. Edwards was one of the most

cherished. I have not been false to it. At a word I could have had the office any time before the Department was committed to Mr. Butterfield—at least Mr. Ewing and the President say as much. That word I forbore to speak, partly for other reasons, but chiefly for Mr. Edwards' sake—losing the office that he might gain it, I was always for; but to lose his friendship by the effort for him, would oppress me very much, were I not sustained by the utmost consciousness of rectitude. I first determined to be an applicant, unconditionally, on the 2nd of June; and I did so then upon being informed by a Telegraphic despatch that the question was narrowed down to Mr. B.——— and myself, and that the Cabinet had postponed the appointment, three weeks, for my benefit. Not doubting that Mr. Edwards was wholly out of the question, I, nevertheless, would not then have become an applicant had I supposed he would thereby be brought to suspect me of treachery to him. Two or three days afterward a conversation with Levi Davis convinced me Mr. Edwards was dissatisfied; but I was then too far in to get out. His own letter, written on the 25th of April, after I had fully informed him of all that had passed up to within a few days of that time, gave assurance I had that entire confidence from him, which I felt my uniform and strong friendship for him entitled me to.

28th. Springfield.

(To John M. Clayton, Secretary of State.) It is with some hesitation I presume to address this letter—and yet I wish not only you, but the whole Cabinet, and the President too, would consider the subject matter of it. My being among the People while you and they are not, will excuse the apparent presumption. It is understood that the President at first adopted, as a general rule, to throw the responsibility of the appointments upon the respective Departments; and that such rule is adhered to and practised upon. This

course I at first thought proper; and, of course, I am not now complaining of it. Still I am disappointed with the effect of it on the public mind. It is fixing for the President the unjust and ruinous character of being a mere man of straw. This must be arrested, or it will damn us all inevitably. It is said General Taylor and his officers held a council of war, at Palo Alto (I believe); and that he then fought the battle against unanimous opinion of those officers. This fact (no matter whether rightfully or wrongfully) gives him more popularity than ten thousand submissions, however really wise and magnanimous those submissions may be.

The appointments need be no better than they have been, but the public must be brought to understand that they are the *President's* appointments. He must occasionally say, or seem to say, "by the Eternal," "I take the responsibility." Those phrases were the "Samson's locks" of General Jackson and we dare not disregard the lessons of experience.

The Hungarian revolution arouses general sympathy in America. Lincoln draws up resolutions adopted at a public meeting.

September 12th. Resolved, That in their present glorious struggle for liberty, the Hungarians command our highest admiration and have our warmest sympathy.

Resolved, That they have our most ardent prayers for their speedy triumph and final success.

Resolved, That the Government of the United States should acknowledge the independence of Hungary as a nation of freemen at the very earliest moment consistent with our amicable relations with the government against which they are contending.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this meeting, the immediate acknowledgment of the independence of Hungary by

our government is due from American freemen to their struggling brethren, to the general cause of republican liberty, and, not violative of the just rights of any nation or people.

Meanwhile, the President has decided to compensate him for the loss of the Land Office. Mrs. Lincoln strongly opposes accepting the substitute appointment and her husband declines it.

27th. (To John Addison.) I can not but be grateful to you and all other friends who have interested themselves in having the governorship of Oregon offered to me; but on as much reflection as I have had time to give the subject, I can not consent to accept it. As to the secretaryship (of Oregon) I have already recommended our friend Simeon Frances of the *Journal.*

Lincoln now devoted himself to the practise of law, traveling much "on the circuit." After a sort of impromptu concert, in a hotel, when he was being teased to sing:

Autumn. Why, Miss Newhall, if it was to save my soul from hell, I couldn't imitate a note that you would touch on that [piano]. I never sung in my life and never was able to. Those fellows [who had been teasing him about his singing] are just simply liars. But I'll tell you what I'll do for you. You girls have been so kind singing for us, I'll repeat to you my favorite poem. ["Oh why should the spirit of mortal be proud."]

His relations with his family have been spasmodic during many years. Now, his half-brother resumes correspondence.

February 23rd, 1850. (To John D. Johnston.) Your letter about a mail contract was received yesterday. I have made

out a bid for you at $120, guaranteed to myself, got our p. m. here to certify it, and send it on. Your former letter, concerning some man's claim for a pension, was also received. I had the claim examined by those who are practised in such matters, and they decide he can not get a pension.

As you make no mention of it, I suppose you had not learned that we lost our little boy. He was sick fifteen days, and died in the morning of the first day of this month. It was not our first, but our second child. We miss him very much.

As a business correspondent he continues incorrigible.

June 27th. (To Richard S. Thomas.) I am ashamed of not sooner answering your letter, herewith returned; and my only apologies are, first, that I have been very busy in the U. S. court; and second, that when I received the letter I put it in my old hat, and buying a new one the next day, the old one was set aside, and so the letter was lost sight of for a time.

He develops lofty views about his profession.

(Notes for Law Lecture.) I am not an accomplished lawyer. I find quite as much material for a lecture in those points wherein I have failed, as in those wherein I have been moderately successful. The leading rule for the lawyer, as for the man of every other calling, is diligence. Leave nothing for to-morrow which can de done to-day. Never let your correspondence fall behind. Whatever piece of business you have in hand, before stopping, do all the labor pertaining to it which can then be done. When you bring a common-law suit, if you have the facts for doing so, write the declaration at once. If a law point be involved, examine the books, and note the authority you rely upon for the declaration itself, where you are sure to find it when wanted. The same of defenses and pleas. In

business not likely to be litigated—ordinary collection cases, foreclosures, partitions, and the like—make all examinations of titles, and note them, and even draft orders and degrees in advance. This course has a triple advantage, saves your labor when once done, performs the labor out of court when you have leisure, rather than in court when you have not. Extemporaneous speaking should be practised and cultivated. It is the lawyer's avenue to the public. However able and faithful he may be in other respects, people are slow to bring him business if he can not make a speech. And yet there is not a more fatal error to young lawyers than relying too much on speech-making. If any one, upon his rare powers of speaking, shall claim an exemption from the drudgery of the law, his case is a failure in advance.

Discourage litigation. Persuade your neighbors to compromise whenever you can. Point out to them how the nominal winner is often a real loser—in fees, expenses, and waste of time. As a peace-maker the lawyer has a superior opportunity of being a good man. There will still be business enough.

Never stir up litigation. A worse man can scarcely be found than one who does this. Who can be more nearly a fiend than he who habitually overhauls the register of deeds in search of defects in titles, whereon to stir up strife, and put money in his pocket? A moral tone ought to be infused into the profession which should drive such men out of it.

The matter of fees is important, far beyond the mere question of bread and butter involved. Properly attended to, fuller justice is done to both lawyer and client. An exorbitant fee should never be claimed. As a general rule never take your whole fee in advance, nor any more than a small retainer. When fully paid beforehand, you are more than a common mortal if you can feel the same interest in the case, as if something was still in prospect for you, as well as for your client. And when you lack interest in the case the job will

very likely lack skill and diligence in the performance. Settle the amount of fee and take a note in advance. Then you will feel that you are working for something, and you are sure to do your work faithfully and well. Never sell a fee note—at least not before the consideration service is performed. It leads to negligence and dishonesty—negligence by losing interest in the case, and dishonesty in refusing to refund when you have allowed the consideration to fail.

There is a vague popular belief that lawyers are necessarily dishonest. I say vague, because when we consider to what extent confidence and honors are reposed in and conferred upon lawyers by the people, it appears improbable that their impression of dishonesty is very distinct and vivid. Yet the impression is common, almost universal. Let no young man choosing the law for a calling for a moment yield to the popular belief—resolve to be honest at all events; and if in your own judgment you can not be an honest lawyer, resolve to be honest without being a lawyer. Choose some other occupation, rather than one in the choosing of which you do, in advance, consent to be a knave.

Family matters imperatively claim his attention.

January 2nd, 1851. (To John D. Johnston.) You are now in need of some money; and what I propose is, that you shall go to work, "tooth and nail," for somebody who will give you money for it. Let father and your boys take charge of your things at home, prepare for a crop, and make a crop, and you go to work for the best money wages, or in discharge of any debt you owe, that you can get; and, to secure you a fair reward for your labor, I now promise you, that for every dollar you will, between this and the first of May, get for your own labor, either in money or as your own indebtedness, I will then give you one other dollar.

12th. (To John D. Johnston.) On the day before yesterday I received a letter from Harriet, written at Greenup. She says she has just returned from your house, and that father is very low and will hardly recover. She also says you have written me two letters, and that although you do not expect me to come now, you wonder that I do not write.

I received both your letters, and although I have not answered them, it is not because I have forgotten them, or been uninterested about them, but because it appeared to me that I could write nothing which would do any good. You already know I desire that neither father nor mother shall be in want of any comfort, either in health or sickness, while they live; and I feel sure you have not failed to use my name, if necessary, to procure a doctor, or anything else for father in his present sickness. My business is such that I could hardly leave home now, if it was not, as it is, that my own wife is sick-a-bed. (It is a case of baby-sickness, and I suppose is not dangerous.) I sincerely hope Father may recover his health, but at all events, tell him to remember and call upon and confide in our great and good and merciful Maker, who will not turn away from him in any extremity. He notes the fall of a sparrow, and numbers the hairs of our heads, and He will not forget the dying man who puts his trust in Him. Say to him that if we could meet now it is doubtful whether it would not be more painful than pleasant, but that if it be his lot to go now, he will soon have a joyous meeting with many loved ones gone before, and where the rest of us, through the help of God, hope ere long to join them.

August 31st. (To John D. Johnston.) Inclosed is the deed for the land. We are all well, and have nothing in the way of news. We have had no cholera here for about two weeks. Give my love to all, and especially to Mother.

November 4th. (To John D. Johnston.) When I came into Charleston day before yesterday, I learned that you are

anxious to sell the land where you live, and move to Missouri. I have been thinking of this ever since, and can not but think such a motion is utterly foolish. What can you do in Missouri better than here? Is the land any richer? Can you there, any more than here, raise corn and wheat and oats without work? Will anybody there, any more than here, do your work for you? If you intend to go to work, there is no better place than right where you are; if you do not intend to go to work, you can not get along anywhere. Squirming and crawling about from place to place can do no good. You have raised no corn this year; and what you really want is to sell the land, get the money, and spend it. Part with the land you have, and, my life upon it, you will never after own a spot big enough to bury you in. Half you will get for the land you will spend in moving to Missouri, and the other half you will eat, drink, and wear out, and no foot of land will be bought. Now, I feel it my duty to have no hand in such a piece of foolery. I feel that it is so even on your own account, and particularly on *mother's* account.

Your thousand pretenses for not getting along better are all nonsense; they deceive nobody but yourself. *Go to work* is the only cure for your case.

9th. (To John D. Johnston.) When I wrote you before, I had not received your letter. I still think as I did; but if the land can be sold so that I get three hundred dollars to put to interest for mother, I will not object, if she does not. But, before I will make a deed, the money must be had, or secured beyond all doubt, at ten per cent.

As to Abram, I do not want him, *on my own account;* but I understand he wants to live with me, so that he can go to school and get a fair start in the world, which I very much wish him to have. When I reach home, if I can make it convenient to take, I will take him, provided there is no mistake between us as to the object and terms of my taking him.

25th. (To John D. Johnston.) Your letter of the 22nd is just received. Your proposal about selling the east forty acres of land is all that I want or could claim for *myself;* but I am not satisfied with it on *mother's* account. I want her to have her living, and I feel that it is my duty, to some extent, to see that she is not wronged. She had a right of Dower (that is, the use of one-third for life) in the other two forties: but, it seems, she has already let you take that, hook and line. She now has the use of the whole of the East forty, as long as she lives; and if it be sold, of course she is entitled to the interest on *all* the money it brings, as long as she lives; but you propose to sell it for three hundred dollars, take one hundred away with you, and leave her two hundred at 8 per cent, making her the enormous sum of sixteen dollars a year. Now, if you are satisfied with treating her in that way, I am not. It is true, that you are to have that forty for two hundred dollars, *at* mother's death; but you are not to have it before. I am confident that land can be made to produce for mother at least thirty dollars a year, and I can not, to oblige any living person, consent that she shall be put on an allowance of sixteen dollars a year.

The death of Henry Clay, next to Jefferson perhaps his chief hero, leads him to formulate a political attitude in eulogizing his dead leader.

July 16th, 1852. Mr. Clay's predominant sentiment, from first to last, was a deep devotion to the cause of human liberty—a strong sympathy with the oppressed everywhere, and an ardent wish for their elevation. With him this was a primary and all-controlling passion. Subsidiary to this was the conduct of his whole life. He loved his country partly because it was his own country, and mostly because it was a free country; and he burned with a zeal for its advancement,

prosperity, and glory, because he saw in such the advancement, prosperity, and glory of human liberty, human right, and human nature. He desired the prosperity of his countrymen, partly because they were his countrymen, but chiefly to show to the world that free men could be prosperous.

He ever was on principle and in feeling opposed to slavery. The very earliest, and one of the latest, public efforts of his life, separated by a period of more than fifty years, were both made in favor of gradual emancipation. He did not perceive that on a question of human right the negroes were to be excepted from the human race. And yet Mr. Clay was the owner of slaves. Cast into life when slavery was already widely spread and deeply seated, he did not perceive, as I think no wise man had perceived, how it could be at once eradicated without producing a greater evil even to the cause of human liberty itself. His feeling and his judgment, therefore, ever led him to oppose both extremes of opinion on the subject. Those who would shiver into fragments the Union of these States, tear to tatters its now venerated Constitution, and even burn the last copy of the Bible, rather than slavery should continue a single hour, together with all their more halting sympathizers, have received, and are receiving, their just execration; and the name and opinions and influence of Mr. Clay are fully and, as I trust, effectually and enduringly arrayed against them. But I would also, if I could, array his name, opinions, and influence against the opposite extreme—against a few but an increasing number of men, who, for the sake of perpetuating slavery, are beginning to assail and to ridicule the white man's charter of freedom, the declaration that "all men are created free and equal."

The American Colonization Society was organized in 1816. Mr. Clay, though not its projector, was one of its earliest members; and he died, as for many preceding years he had been, its president. It was one of the most cherished

objects of his direct care and consideration, and the association of his name with it has probably been its very greatest collateral support. He considered it no demerit in the society that it tended to relieve the slaveholders from the troublesome presence of the free negroes; but this was far from being its whole merit in his estimation.

This suggestion of the possible ultimate redemption of the African race and African continent was made twenty-five years ago. Every succeeding year has added strength to the hope of its realization. May it indeed be realized. Pharaoh's country was cursed with plagues, and his hosts were lost in the Red Sea, for striving to retain a captive people who had already served them more than four hundred years. May like disasters never befall us! If, as the friends of colonization hope, the present and coming generations of our countrymen shall by any means succeed in freeing our land from the dangerous presence of slavery, and at the same time in restoring a captive people to their long-lost fatherland with bright prospects for the future, and this too so gradually that neither races nor individuals shall have suffered by the change, it will indeed be a glorious consummation, and if to such a consummation the efforts of Mr. Clay shall have contributed, it will be what he most ardently wished, and none of his labors will have been more valuable to his country and his kind.

In the campaign of 1852 Lincoln is sharply pitted as stump speaker against an old acquaintance who has gone far ahead of him in the race for preferment, Stephen A. Douglas. Much of Lincoln's earlier bent for sarcasm in political speaking has disappeared. But now and then something of the earlier impulse revives—as in these comments on Douglas.

This speech (that of Mr. Douglas at Richmond) has been published with high commendations in at least one of the Dem-

ocratic papers in this State, and I suppose it has been and will be in most of the others. When I first saw it and read it, I was reminded of old times, *when Judge Douglas was not so much greater man than all the rest of us, as he is now,*—of the Harrison campaign twelve years ago, when I used to hear and *try* to answer many of his speeches; and believing that the Richmond speech, though marked with the same species of "shirks and quirks" as the old ones, was not marked with any greater ability, I was seized with a strange inclination to attempt an answer to it, and this inclination it was that prompted me to seek the privilege of addressing you on this occasion.

Let us stand by our candidate as faithfully as he has always stood by our country, and I much doubt if we do not perceive a slight abatement in Judge Douglas's confidence in Providence as well as in the people. I suspect that confidence is not more firmly fixed with the judge than it is with the old woman whose horse ran away with her in a buggy. She said she "trusted in Providence till the 'britchin' broke, and then she didn't know what on airth *to* do." The chance is, the judge will see the "britchin" broke; and then he can at his leisure bewail the fate of Locofocoism as the victim of misplaced confidence.

The serious lawyer which he has now become can on occasion write a very skilful letter.

May 12th, 1853. (To J. R. Stanford.) I hope the subject-matter of this letter will appear a sufficient apology to you for the liberty I, a total stranger, take in addressing you. The persons here holding two lots under a conveyance made by you, as the attorney of Daniel M. Baily, now nearly twenty-two years ago, are in great danger of losing the lots, and very much, perhaps all, is to depend on the testimony you give as to whether you did or did not account to Baily for the proceeds

received by you on this sale of the lots. I therefore, as one of the counsel, beg of you to fully refresh your recollection by any means in your power before the time you may be called on to testify. If persons should come about you and show a disposition to pump you on the subject, it may be no more than prudent to remember that it may be possible they design to misrepresent you and embarrass the real testimony you may ultimately give.

By this time, though not famous, he is sufficiently known for other Lincolns to be curious about him.

April 1st. (To Jesse Lincoln.) On yesterday I had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 16th of March. From what you say there can be no doubt that you and I are of the same family. The history of your family, as you give it, is precisely what I have always heard, and partly know, of my uncle Abraham; and the story of his death by the Indians, and of Uncle Mordecai, then fourteen years old, killing one of the Indians, is the legend more strongly than all others imprinted upon my mind and memory. I am the son of grandfather's youngest son, Thomas. I have often heard my father speak of his uncle Isaac residing at Watauga (I think), near where the then States of Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee join—you seem now to be some hundred miles or so west of that.

1854

The Kansas-Nebraska Bill, popularly called the "Nebraska Bill," sponsored by Stephen A. Douglas, is violently condemned in both the Whig and Democratic parties. Its opponents irrespective of party are labelled "Anti-Nebraska Men." They speak of the bill as "the repeal of the Missouri Compromise."

From 1849 to 1854, both inclusive, practised law more assiduously than ever before. Always a Whig in politics; and generally on the Whig electoral tickets, making active canvasses. I was losing interest in politics when the repeal of the Missouri Compromise aroused me again.

During the summer of 1854, he ponders the problems of government and puts some of his thoughts on paper.

July 1st. Most governments have been based, practically, on the denial of the equal rights of men, as I have, in part, stated them; ours began by affirming those rights. They said, some men are too ignorant and vicious to share in government. Possibly so, said we; and, by your system, you would always keep them ignorant and vicious. We proposed to give all a chance; and we expected the weak to grow stronger, the ignorant wiser, and all better and happier together.

Equality in society alike beats inequality, whether the latter be of the British aristocratic sort or of the domestic slavery sort. We know Southern men declare that their slaves are better off than hired laborers amongst us. How little they

know whereof they speak! There is no permanent class of hired laborers amongst us. Twenty-five years ago I was a hired laborer. The hired laborer of yesterday labors on his own account to-day, and will hire others to labor for him to-morrow. Advancement—improvement in condition—is the order of things in a society of equals. As labor is the common burden of our race, so the effort of some to shift their share of the burden onto the shoulders of others is the great durable curse of the race. Originally a cure for trangression upon the whole race, when, as by slavery, it is concentrated on a part only, it becomes the double-refined curse of God upon his creatures.

October 3rd. Stephen A. Douglas having returned from Washington to champion the "Nebraska Bill" in Illinois, speaks at Springfield. Lincoln promptly replies.

16th. Douglas speaks in defense of the "Nebraska Bill" at Peoria. Again Lincoln replies. In this speech he amazes every one by the force and acumen with which he builds up a distinctive political attitude strikingly his own. Here begins the period of his greatness.

(Speech at Peoria, Illinois, in reply to Douglas.) The repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the propriety of its restoration, constitute the subject of what I am about to say. As I desire to present my own connected view of this subject, my remarks will not be specifically in answer to Judge Douglas; yet, as I proceed, the main points he has presented will arise, and will receive such respectful attention as I may be able to give them. I wish further to say that I do not propose to question the patriotism or to assail the motives of any man or class of men, but rather to confine myself strictly to the naked merits of the question. I also wish to be no less than national in all the positions I may take, and whenever I take ground

which others have thought, or may think, narrow, sectional, and dangerous to the Union, I hope to give a reason which will appear sufficient, at least to some, why I think differently.

And as this subject is no other than part and parcel of the larger general question of domestic slavery, I wish to make and to keep the distinction between the existing institution and the extension of it, so broad and so clear that no honest man can misunderstand me, and no dishonest one successfully misrepresent me.

In 1853, a bill to give it (Nebraska) a territorial government passed the House of Representatives, and, in the hands of Judge Douglas, failed of passing only for want of time. This bill contained no repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Indeed, when it was assailed because it did not contain such repeal, Judge Douglas defended it in its existing form. On January 4, 1854, Judge Douglas introduces a new bill to give Nebraska territorial government. He accompanies this bill with a report, in which last he expressly recommends that the Missouri Compromise shall neither be affirmed nor repealed. Before long the bill is so modified as to make two territories instead of one, calling the southern one Kansas.

Also, about a month after the introduction of the bill, on the Judge's own motion it is so amended as to declare the Missouri Compromise inoperative and void; and, substantially, that the people who go and settle there may establish slavery, or exclude it, as they may see fit. In this shape the bill passed both branches of Congress and became a law.

This is the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. The foregoing history may not be precisely accurate in every particular, but I am sure it is sufficiently so for all the use I shall attempt to make of it, and in it we have before us the chief material enabling us to judge correctly whether the repeal of the Missouri Compromise is right or wrong. I think, and shall try to show, that it is wrong—wrong in its direct effect, letting slav-

ery into Kansas and Nebraska, and wrong in its prospective principle, allowing it to spread to every other part of the wide world where men can be found inclined to take it.

This declared indifference, but, as I must think, covert real zeal, for the spread of slavery, I can not but hate. I hate it because of the monstrous injustice of slavery itself. I hate it because it deprives our republican example of its just influence in the world; enables the enemies of free institutions with plausibility to taunt us as hypocrites; causes the real friends of freedom to doubt our sincerity; and especially because it forces so many good men among ourselves into an open war with the very fundamental principles of civil liberty, criticizing the Declaration of Independence, and insisting that there is no right principle of action but self-interest.

Before proceeding let me say that I think I have no prejudice against the Southern people. They are just what we would be in their situation. If slavery did not now exist among them, they would not introduce it. If it did now exist among us, we should not instantly give it up. This I believe of the masses North and South. Doubtless there are individuals on both sides who would not hold slaves under any circumstances, and others who would gladly introduce slavery anew if it were put of existence. We know that some Southern men do free their slaves, go North and become tip-top Abolitionists, while some Northern ones go South and become most cruel slave-masters.

When Southern people tell us they are no more responsible for the origin of slavery than we are, I acknowledge the fact. When it is said that the institution exists, and that it is very difficult to get rid of it in any satisfactory way, I can understand and appreciate the saying. I surely will not blame them for not doing what I should not know how to do myself. If all earthly power were given me, I should not know what to do as to the existing institution. My first impulse would be to

free all the slaves, and send them to Liberia, to their own native land. But a moment's reflection would convince me that whatever of high hope (as I think there is) there may be in this in the long run, its sudden execution is impossible. If they were all landed there in a day, they would all perish in the next ten days; and there are not surplus shipping and surplus money enough to carry them there in many times ten days. What then? Free them all, and keep them among us as underlings? Is it quite certain that this betters their condition? I think I would not hold one in slavery at any rate, yet the point is not clear enough for me to denounce people upon. What next? Free them, and make them politically and socially our equals. My own feelings will not admit of this, and if mine would, we well know that those of the great mass of whites will not. Whether this feeling accords with justice and sound judgment is not the sole question, if indeed it is any part of it. A universal feeling, whether well or ill founded, can not be safely disregarded. We can not then make them equals. It does seem to me that systems of gradual emancipation might be adopted, but for their tardiness in this I will not undertake to judge our brethren of the South.

When they remind us of their constitutional rights, I acknowledge them—not grudgingly, but fully and fairly; and I would give them legislation for the reclaiming of their fugitives which should not in its stringency be more likely to carry a free man into slavery than our ordinary criminal laws are to hang an innocent one.

But all this, to my judgment, furnishes no more excuse for permitting slavery to go into our own free territory than it would for reviving the African slave-trade by law. The law which forbids the bringing of slaves from Africa, and that which has so long forbidden the taking of them into Nebraska, can hardly be distinguished on any moral principle, and the repeal of the former could find quite as plausible excuses as that of the latter.

Whether slavery shall go into Nebraska, or other new Territories, is not a matter of exclusive concern to the people who may go there. The whole nation is interested that the best use shall be made of these Territories. We want them for homes of free white people. This they can not be, to any considerable extent, if slavery shall be planted within them. Slave States are places for poor white people to remove from, not to remove to. New Free States are the places for poor people to go to, and better their condition. For this use the nation needs these Territories.

Some men, mostly Whigs, who condemn the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, nevertheless hesitate to go for its restoration, lest they be thrown in company with the Abolitionists. Will they allow me, as an old Whig, to tell them, good-humoredly, that I think this is very silly? Stand with anybody that stands right. Stand with him while he is right, and part with him when he goes wrong. Stand with the Abolitionist in restoring the Missouri Compromise, and stand against him when he attempts to repeal the fugitive-slave law. In the latter case you stand with the Southern disunionist. What of that? you are still right. In both cases you are right. In both cases you expose the dangerous extremes. In both you stand on middle ground, and hold the ship level and steady. In both you are national. This is the good old Whig ground. To desert such ground because of any company, is to be less than a Whig—less than a man—less than an American.

Fellow-countrymen, Americans, South as well as North, shall we make no effort to arrest this? Already the liberal party throughout the world express the apprehension "that the one retrograde institution in America is undermining the principles of progress, and fatally violating the noblest political system the world ever saw." This is not the taunt of enemies, but the warning of friends. Is it quite safe to disregard it—to despise it? Is there no danger to liberty itself in disregarding

the earliest practise and first precept of our ancient faith? In our greedy chase to make profit of the negro, let us beware lest we "cancel and tear in pieces" even the white man's charter of freedom.*

Immense impression made on "Anti-Nebraska Men" irrespective of party, by Lincoln's replies to Douglas. He decides to become a candidate for election to the United States Senate, encouraged to do so because the "Anti-Nebraska" Democrats put up a candidate, Lyman Trumbull, in opposition to the regular Democrat, James Shields—now a general because of service in the Mexican War.

November 10th. (To Charles Hoyt.) You used to express a good deal of partiality for me, and if you are still so, now is the time. Some friends here are really for me, for the U. S. Senate, and I should be very grateful if you could make a mark for me among your members. Please write me at all events giving me the names, post-offices, and *"political position"* of members round about you. Direct to Springfield.

Let this be confidential.

17th. Newly organized Republican Party attempts to draw Lincoln into its membership, by inviting him to become a member of their State Central Committee.

27th. (To I. Codding.) Your note of the 13th requesting my attendance on the Republican State Central Committee, on the 17th instant at Chicago, was, owing to my absence from home, received on the evening of that day (17th) only. While I have pen in hand allow me to say I have been perplexed some to understand why my name was placed on that Committee.

*This speech, in some respects the most notable event of Lincoln's political life, strictly speaking, is in its entirety an elaborate essay. See Biographical Edition, IV, 190, etc.; Putnam Edition, II, 178, etc.

I was not consulted on the subject, nor was I appraised of the appointment until I discovered it by accident two or three weeks afterward. I suppose my opposition to the principle of slavery is as strong as that of any member of the Republican party; but I have also supposed that the extent to which I feel authorized to carry that opposition, practically, was not at all satisfactory to that party. The leading men who organized that party were present on the 4th of October at the discussion between Douglas and myself at Springfield, and had full opportunity to not misunderstand my position. Do I misunderstand them? Please write and inform me.

Lincoln continues in the race for the Senatorship as a Whig.

27th. (To T. J. Henderson.) It has come round that a Whig may, by possibility, be elected to the United States Senate, and I want the chance of being the man. You are a member of the Legislature, and have a vote to give. Think it over, and see whether you can do better than go for me. Write me at all events; and let this be confidential.

December 1st. (To Joseph Gillespie.) I have really got it into my head to try to be United States Senator, and, if I could have your support, my chance would be reasonably good. But I know, and acknowledge, that you have as just claims to the place as I have and therefore I can not ask you to yield to me, if you are thinking of becoming a candidate yourself. If, however, you are not, then I should like to be remembered affectionately by you; and also to have you make a mark for me with the Anti-Nebraska members, down your way.

If you know, and have no objection to tell, let me know whether Trumbull intends to make a push. If he does, I suppose the two men in St. Clair, the one, or both, in Madison, will be for him. We have the Legislature, clearly enough, on joint ballot, but the Senate is very close, and Cullom told me

to-day that the Nebraska men will stave off the election, if they can. Even if we get into joint vote, we shall have difficulty to unite our forces. Please write me, and let this be confidential.

14th. (To E. A. Washbourn.) So far as I am concerned, there must be something wrong about United States Senator at Chicago. My most intimate friends there do not answer my letters, and I can not get a word from them. Wentworth has a knack of knowing things better than most men. I wish you would pump him, and write me what you get from him. Please do this as soon as you can, as the time is growing short. Don't let any one know I have written you this; for there may be those opposed to me nearer about you than you think.

15th. We shall have a terrible struggle with our adversaries. They are desperate and bent on desperate deeds. I accidentally learned of one of the leaders here writing to a member south of here, in about the following language:

"We are beaten. They have a clear majority of at least nine, on joint ballot. They *outnumber* us, but we must *outmanage* them. Douglas must be sustained. We must elect the speaker; and we must elect a Nebraska* United States Senator, or elect none at all."

Similar letters, no doubt, are written to every Nebraska member. Be considering how we can best meet, and foil, and beat them.

*The term used for supporters of the bill fathered by Douglas.

1855

January 6th. (To E. B. Washburne.) I telegraphed you as to the organization of the two Houses. T. J. Turner elected Speaker, 40 to 24; House not full; Doctor Richmond of Schuyler was his opponent; Anti-Nebraska also elected all the other officers of the House of Representatives. In the Senate Anti-Nebraska elected George T. Brown, of the *Alton Courier,* secretary; and Doctor Ray, of the *Galena Jeffersonian,* one of the clerks. In fact they elected all the officers, but some of them were Nebraska men elected over the regular Nebraska nominees. It is said that by this they get one or two Nebraska senators to go for bringing on the senatorial election. I can not vouch for this. As to the senatorial election, I think very little more is known than was before the meeting of the Legislature. Besides the ten or a dozen on our side who are willing to be known as candidates, I think there are fifty secretly watching for a chance. I do not know that it is much advantage to have the largest number of votes at the start. If I did know this to be an advantage, I should feel better, for I can not doubt but I have more committals than any other man.

The "Anti-Nebraska Men" discern that the "Nebraska Men" who are supporting Douglas and his policies are working secretly for a combination of all "Nebraska Men," Whigs and Democrats, to elect as Senator the Democratic Governor, Joel A. Matteson. They strive in vain to head off this movement toward a "Nebraska" coalition.

February 9th. (To E. B. Washburne.) The agony is over at last, and the result you doubtless know. I write this only to give you some particulars to explain what might appear difficult of understanding. I began with 44 votes, Shields 41, and Trumbull 5—yet Trumbull was elected. In fact, 47 different members voted for me—getting three new ones on the second ballot, and losing four old ones. How came my 47 to yield to Trumbull's 5? It was Governor Matteson's work. He has been secretly a candidate ever since (before, even) the fall election. All the members round about the canal were Anti-Nebraska but were nevertheless nearly all Democrats and old personal friends of his. His plan was to privately impress them with the belief that he was as good Anti-Nebraska as any one else—at least could be secured to be so by instructions, which could be easily passed. In this way he got from four to six of that sort of men to really prefer his election to that of any other man—all *sub rosa,* of course. One notable instance of this sort was with Mr. Strunk of Kankakee. At the beginning of the session he came a volunteer to tell me he was for me and would walk a hundred miles to elect me; but lo! it was not long before he leaked it out that he was going for me the first few ballots and then for Governor Matteson.

The Nebraska men, of course, were not for Matteson; but when they found they could elect no avowed Nebraska man, they tardily determined to let him get whomever of our men he could, by whatever means he could, and ask him no questions. In the meantime Osgood, Don Morrison, and Trapp of St. Clair had openly gone over from us. With the united Nebraska force and their recruits, open and covert, it gave Matteson more than enough to elect him. We saw into it plainly ten days ago, but with every possible effort could not head it off. All that remained of the Anti-Nebraska force, excepting Judd, Cook, Palmer, Baker and Allen of Madison,

and two or three of the secret Matteson men, would go into caucus, and I could get the nomination of that caucus. But the three senators and one of the two representatives above named "could never vote for a Whig," and this incensed some twenty Whigs to "think" they would never vote for the man of the five. So we stood, and so we went into the fight yesterday—the Nebraska men very confident of the election of Matteson, though denying that he was a candidate, and we very much believing also that they would elect him. But they wanted first to make a show of good faith to Shields by voting for him a few times, and our secret Matteson men also wanted to make a show of good faith by voting with us a few times. So we led off. On the seventh ballot, I think, the signal was given to the Nebraska men to turn to Matteson, which they acted on to a man, with one exception, my old friend Strunk going with them, giving him 44 votes.

Next ballot the remaining Nebraska man and one pretended Anti went over to him, giving him 46. The next, still another, giving him 47, wanting only three of an election. In the meantime our friends, with a view of detaining our expected bolters, had been turning from me to Trumbull till he had risen to 35 and I had been reduced to 15. These would never desert me except by my direction; but I became satisfied that if we could prevent Matteson's election one or two ballots more, we could not possibly do so a single ballot after my friends should begin to return to me from Trumbull. So I determined to strike at once, and accordingly advised my remaining friends to go for him, which they did and elected him on the tenth ballot.

Such is the way the thing was done. I think you would have done the same under the circumstances; though Judge Davis, who came down this morning, declared he never would have consented to the forty-seven men being controlled by the five. I regret my defeat moderately, but I am not nervous

about it. I could have headed off every combination and been elected—had it not been for Matteson's double game—and his defeat now gives me more pleasure than my own gives me pain. On the whole, it is perhaps as well for our general cause that Trumbull is elected. The Nebraska men confess that they hate it worse than anything that could have happened. It is a great consolation to see them worse whipped than I am. I tell them it is their own fault—that they had abundant opportunity to choose between him and me, which they declined, and instead forced it on me to decide between him and Matteson.

Accepting defeat Lincoln turns back to his profession.

March 10th. (To Sanford, Porter and Striker.) Yours of the 5th is received, as also was that of 15th December last, inclosing bond of Clift to Pray. When I received the bond I was dabbling in politics, and of course neglecting business. Having since been beaten out I have gone to work again.

As I do not practise in Rushville I to-day open a correspondence with Henry E. Dummer, Esq., of Beardstown, Ills., with the view of getting the job into his hands. He is a good man if he will undertake it. Write me whether I shall do this or return the bond to you.

He is preoccupied with the new issue over slavery and constantly seeking to find ways of fighting the "Nebraska Men."

23rd. (To A. B. Moreau.) Stranger though I am, personally, being a brother in the faith, I venture to write to you. Yates can not come to your court next week. He is obliged to be at Pike court where he has a case, with a fee of five hundred dollars, two hundred dollars already paid. To neglect it would be unjust to himself, and dishonest to his client. Harris will be with you, head up tail up, for Nebraska. You

must have some one to make an anti-Nebraska speech. Palmer is the best, if you can get him, I think. Jo. Gillespie, if you can not get Palmer, and somebody anyhow, if you can get neither. But press Palmer hard.

August 11th. Know Nothingism has not yet entirely tumbled to pieces. Nay, it is even a little encouraged by the late election in Tennessee, Kentucky and Alabama. Until we can get the elements of this organization there is not sufficient material to successfully combat the Nebraska democracy with. We can not get them so long as they cling to a hope of success under their own organization; and I fear an open push by us now may offend them and tend to prevent our ever getting them. About us here, they are mostly my old political and personal friends, and I have hoped this organization would die out without the painful necessity of my taking an open stand against them. Of their principles I think little better than I do of those of the slavery extensionists. Indeed I do not perceive how any one professing to be sensitive to the wrongs of the negro, can join in a league to degrade a class of white men. I have no objection to "fuse" with any body provided I can fuse on grounds which I think right. And I believe the opponents of slavery extension could now do this if it were not for the K. N.ism. In many speeches last summer I advised those who did me the honor of a hearing to "stand with" any body who stands right, and I am still quite willing to follow my own advice.

His strong literary bent leads him to strive constantly after phrases to express the new issue.

15th. On the question of liberty as a principle, we are not what we have been. When we were the political slaves of King George, and wanted to be free, we called the maxim that "all men are created equal" a self-evident truth, but now when we

have grown fat, and have lost all dread of being slaves ourselves, we have become so greedy to be master that we call the same maxim "a self-evident lie." The Fourth of July has not quite dwindled away; it is still a great day—for burning fire-crackers!!!

That spirit which desired the peaceful extinction of slavery has itself become extinct with the occasion and the men of the Revolution. Under the impulse of that occasion, nearly half the States adopted systems of emancipation at once, and it is a significant fact that not a single State has done the like since. So far as peaceful voluntary emancipation is concerned, the condition of the negro slave in America, scarcely less terrible to the contemplation of a free mind, is now as fixed and hopeless of change for the better, as that of the lost souls of the finally impenitent. The Autocrat of all the Russias will resign his crown and proclaim his subjects free republicans sooner than will our American masters voluntarily give up their slaves.

Our political problem now is, "Can we as a nation continue together permanently—forever—half slave and half free?"* The problem is too mighty for me—may God, in His mercy, superintend the solution.

24th. (To Joshua F. Speed.) You know what a poor correspondent I am. Ever since I received your very agreeable letter of the 22d of May I have been intending to write you an answer to it. You suggest that in political action you and I would differ. I suppose we would; not quite as much, however, as you may think. You know I dislike slavery, and you fully admit the abstract wrong of it. So far there is no cause of difference. But you say that sooner than yield your legal right to the slave—especially at the bidding of those who are not themselves interested—you would see the Union dissolved. I am not aware that *any one* is bidding you yield that right;

*See p. 137 for the historic use of this phrase.

very certainly I am not. I leave that matter entirely to yourself. I also acknowledge *your* rights and *my* obligations under the Constitution in regard to your slaves. I confess I hate to see the poor creatures hunted down and caught and carried back to their stripes and unrequited toil; but I bite my lips and keep quiet. In 1841 you and I had together a tedious low-water trip on a steamboat from Louisville to St. Louis. You may remember, as I well do, that from Louisville to the mouth of the Ohio there were on board ten or a dozen slaves shackled together with irons. That sight was a continued torment to me, and I see something like it every time I touch the Ohio or any other slave border. It is not fair for you to assume that I have no interest in a thing which has, and continually exercises, the power of making me miserable. You ought rather to appreciate how much the great body of the Northern people do crucify their feelings, in order to maintain their loyalty to the Constitution and the Union.

You say, that, if Kansas fairly votes herself a free State, as a Christian you will rejoice at it. All decent slaveholders *talk* that way; and I do not doubt their candor. But they never *vote* that way. Although in a private letter or conversation you will express your preference that Kansas shall be free, you would vote for no man for Congress who would say the same thing publicly. No such man could be elected from any district in a slave State. You think Stringfellow & Co. ought to be hung; and yet, at the next Presidential election you will vote for the exact type and representative of Stringfellow. The slave-breeders and slave-traders are a small, odious, and detested class among you; and yet in politics they dictate the course of all of you, and are as completely your masters as you are the master of your own negroes. You inquire where I now stand. That is a disputed point. I think I am a Whig; but others say there are no Whigs, and that I am an Abolitionist. When I was at Washington, I voted for the Wilmot

proviso as good as forty times; and I never heard of any one attempting to unwhig me for that. I now do no more than oppose the extension of slavery. I am not a Know-nothing; that is certain. How could I be? How can any one who abhors the oppression of negroes be in favor of degrading classes of white people? Our progress in degeneracy appears to be pretty rapid. As a nation we began by declaring that *"all men are created equal."* We now practically read it "all men are created equal, except negroes." When the Know-nothings get control, it will read "all men are created equal, except negroes and foreigners and Catholics." When it comes to this, I shall prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretense of loving liberty—to Russia, for instance, where despotism can be taken pure, and without the base alloy of hypocrisy.

September. Acts as associate counsel in an important patent suit brought by Cyrus H. McCormick. Case is tried at Cincinnati. Lincoln is treated with condescending incivility by the senior counsel, Edwin M. Stanton.

(To Ralph Emerson after the trial is over.) I am going home to study law.

(Emerson: You stand at the head of the bar in Illinois now.)

Oh, yes, I do occupy a good position there, and I think that I can get along with the way things are done there now. But these college-trained men, who have devoted their whole lives to study, are coming West, don't you see? And they study their cases as we never do. They have got as far as Cincinnati now. They will soon be in Illinois. I am going home to study law. I am as good as any of them, and when they get out to Illinois I will be ready for them.

November 5th. (To Isham Reaves.) I am from home too

much of my time, for a young man to read law with me advantageously. If you are resolutely determined to make a lawyer of yourself, the thing is more than half done already. It is but a small matter whether you read with any body or not. I did not read with any one. Get the books, and read and study them till you understand them in their principal features; and that is the main thing. It is of no consequence to be in a large town while you are reading. I read at New Salem, which never had three hundred people living in it. The books, and your capacity for understanding them, are just the same in all places. Mr. Dummer is a very clever man and an excellent lawyer (much better than I, in law-learning); and I have no doubt he will cheerfully tell you what books to read, and also loan you the books.

Always bear in mind that your own resolution to succeed, is more important than any other one thing.

December 15th.

THE ILLINOIS CENTRAL RAILROAD COMPANY,
To A. LINCOLN, *Dr.*

To professional services in the case of the Illinois Central Railroad Company against the County of McLean, argued in the Supreme Court of the State of Illinois at December term, 1855.....$5,000.00

We, the undersigned members of the Illinois Bar, understanding that the above entitled cause was twice argued in the Supreme Court, and that the judgment therein decided the question of the claim of counties and other minor municipal corporations to the property of said Railroad company, and settled said question against said claim and in favor of said railroad company, are of opinion the sum above charged as a fee is not unreasonable.

Grant Goodrich, N. H. Purple,
N. B. Judd, O. H. Browning,
Archibald Williams, R. S. Blackwell.

1856

Law and politics continue to divide his attention. He is still holding off from the new Republican party, deliberating what to do. Meanwhile the violence in Kansas on both sides receives his condemnation. He speaks earnestly on the subject addressing a little association of abolitionists formed to oppose the government in Kansas.

Friends, I agree with you in Providence; but I believe in the providence of most men, the largest purse, and the longest cannon. You are in the minority—in a sad minority; and you can not hope to succeed, reasoning from all human experience. You would rebel against the Government, and redden your hands in the blood of your countrymen. If you are in the minority, as you are, *you can't* succeed. I say again and again, against the Government, with a great majority of its best citizens backing it, and when they have the most men, the longest purse, and the biggest cannon, you can not succeed. If you have the majority, as some of you say you have, you can succeed with the ballot, throwing away the bullet. You can peacefully, then, redeem the Government, and preserve the liberties of mankind, through your votes and voice and moral influence. Let there be peace. In a democracy, where the majority rule by the ballot through the forms of law, these physical rebellions and bloody resistances are radically wrong, unconstitutional, and are treason. Better bear the ills you have than fly to those you know not of. Our own Declaration of

Independence says, that governments long established, for trivial causes should not be resisted. Revolutionize through the ballot-box, and restore the Government once more to the affections and hearts of men, by making it express, as it was intended to do, the highest spirit of justice and liberty. Your attempt, if there be such, to resist the laws of Kansas by force, is criminal and wicked; and all your feeble attempts will be follies, and end in bringing sorrow on your heads, and ruin the cause you would freely die to preserve!

Still, his humor does not desert him despite the evil times.

February 13th. (Request for renewal of pass over Chicago and Alton Railroad.) Says Tom to John, "Here's your rotten wheelbarrow. I've broke it usin' on it. I wish you would mend it, 'case I shall want to borrow it this afternoon." Acting on this as a precedent I say, "Here's your old 'chalked hat,' I wish you would take it and send me a new one; 'case I shall want to use it the first of March."

21st. (To George P. Floyd.) I have just received yours of the 16th, with check on Flagg & Savage for twenty-five dollars. You must think I am a high-priced man. You are too liberal with your money.

Fifteen dollars is enough for the job. I send you a receipt for fifteen dollars and return you a ten-dollar bill.

May 29th. The "Anti-Nebraska Men" in both the old parties gradually come together in the new Republican party. Trumbull leads Anti-Nebraska Democrats into the new organization. Lincoln, after long hesitation writes Herndon, who is hot for the new party, "All right. Go ahead. Will meet you radicals and all." Accepts election as member of State Republican Convention. Commits himself to new party in a famous, unrecorded address known as "The Lost Speech."

June 17th. Republican National Convention at Philadelphia gives Lincoln one hundred ten votes on the informal ballot for vice-president. William L. Dayton is finally chosen. John C. Fremont nominated for President.

(On receiving news of the vote for him at Philadelphia.) I reckon it's not me. There's another Lincoln down in Massachusetts. I've an idea he's the one.

27th. (To John Van Dyke.) Allow me to thank you for your kind notice of me in the Philadelphia Convention.

When you meet Judge Dayton present my respects, and tell him I think him a far better man than I for the position he is in, and that I shall support both him and Colonel Fremont most cordially.

July 12th. I am superstitious. I have scarcely known a party preceding an election to call in help from the neighboring States, but they lost the State. Last fall, our friends had Wade, of Ohio, and others, in Maine; and they lost the State. Last spring our adversaries had New Hampshire full of South Carolinians, and they lost the State. And so, generally, it seems to stir up more enemies than friends.

Meanwhile, Fillmore is nominated for President by the remnant of the Whig party in conjunction with the temporary "American" (Know-nothing) party.

August 1st. (Speech at Galena.) You [Democrats] further charge us with being disunionists. If you mean that it is our aim to dissolve the Union, I for myself answer that it is untrue; for those who act with me I answer that it is untrue. Have you heard us assert that as our aim? Do you really believe that such is our aim? Do you find it in our platform, our speeches, our conventions, or anywhere? If not, withdraw the charge.

But you may say that, though it is not our aim, it will be the result if we succeed, and that we are therefore disunionists in fact. This is a grave charge you make against us, and we certainly have a right to demand that you specify in what way we are to dissolve the Union. How are we to effect this?

The only specification offered is volunteered by Mr. Fillmore in his Albany speech. His charge is that if we elect a President and Vice-President both from the free States it will dissolve the Union. This is open folly . . .

No other specification is made, and the only one that could be made is that the restoration of the restriction of 1820, making the United States territory free territory, would dissolve the Union. Gentlemen, it will require a decided majority to pass such an act. We, the majority, being able constitutionally to do all that we purpose, would have no desire to dissolve the Union. Do you say that such restriction of slavery would be unconstitutional, and that some of the States would not submit to its enforcement? I grant you that an unconstitutional act is not a law; but I do not ask and will not take your construction of the Constitution. The Supreme Court of the United States is the tribunal to decide such a question, and we will submit to its decisions; and if you do also, there will be an end of the matter. Will you? If not, who are the disunionists—you or we? We, the majority, would not strive to dissolve the Union; and if any attempt is made, it must be by you, who so loudly stigmatize us as disunionists. But the Union, in any event, will not be dissolved. We don't want to dissolve it, and if you attempt it, we won't let you. With the purse and sword, the army and navy and treasury, in our hands and at our command, you could not do it. This government would be very weak indeed if a majority with a disciplined army and navy and a well-filled treasury could not preserve itself when attacked by an unarmed, undisciplined, unorganized minority. All this talk about dissolution of the

Union is humbug, nothing but folly. We do not want to dissolve the Union; you shall not.

11th. I have just returned from speaking at Paris and Grandview in Edgar County—& Charleston and Shelbyville, in Coles and Shelby Counties. Our whole trouble along there has been & is Fillmoreism. It loosened considerably during the week, not under my preaching, but under the election returns from Mo., Ky., Ark., & N. C. I think we shall ultimately get all the Fillmore men, who are really anti-slavery extension—the rest will probably go to Buchanan where they rightfully belong; if they do not, so much the better for us.

September 8th. (To Harrison Maltby.) I understand you are a Fillmore man. Let me prove to you that every vote withheld from Fremont and given to Fillmore in *this State* actually lessens Fillmore's chance of being President.

Suppose Buchanan gets all the slave States and Pennsylvania, and *any other* one State besides; *then he is elected,* no matter who gets all the rest. But suppose Fillmore gets the two slave States of Maryland and Kentucky; then Buchanan *is not elected;* Fillmore goes into the House of Representatives, and may be made President by a compromise.

But suppose, again, Fillmore's friends throw away a few thousand votes on him in Indiana and Illinois; it will inevitably give these States to Buchanan, which will more than compensate him for the loss of Maryland and Kentucky; will elect him, and leave Fillmore no chance in the H. of R. or out of it.

This is as plain as adding up the weight of three small hogs. As Mr. Fillmore has no possible chance to carry Illinois *for himself,* it is plainly to his interest to let Fremont take it, and thus keep it out of the hands of Buchanan.

October 1st. It is constantly objected to Fremont and Dayton, that they are supported by a sectional party, who by their sectionalism endanger the national Union. This objection, more than all others, causes men really opposed to slavery ex-

tension to hesitate. Practically, it is the most difficult objection we have to meet. For this reason I now propose to examine it a little more carefully than I have heretofore done, or seen it done by others. First, then, what is the question between the parties respectively represented by Buchanan and Fremont? Simply this. "Shall slavery be allowed to extend into United States territories now legally free?" Buchanan says it shall, and Fremont says it shall not.

The thing which gives most color to the charge of sectionalism, made against those who oppose the spread of slavery into free territory, is the fact that they can get no votes in the slave States, while their opponents get all, or nearly so, in the slave States, and also a large number in the free States. To take it in another way, the extensionists can give votes over the nation, while the restrictionists can get them only in the free States.

This being the fact, why is it so? It is not because one side of the question dividing them is more sectional than the other, nor because of any difference in the mental or moral structure of the people North and South. It is because in that question the people of the South have an immediate, palpable and immensely great pecuniary interest, while with the people of the North it is merely an abstract question of moral right, with only slight and remote pecuniary interest added.

The slaves of the South, at a moderate estimate, are worth a thousand millions of dollars. Let it be permanently settled that this property may extend to new territory without restraint, and it greatly enhances, perhaps quite doubles, its value at once. This immense, palpable, pecuniary interest on the question of extending slavery unites the Southern people as one man. But it can not be demonstrated that the North will gain a dollar by restricting it. Moral principle is all, or nearly all, that unites us of the North. Pity 'tis, it is so, but this is a looser bond than pecuniary interest. Right here is the plain

cause of their perfect union and our want of it. And see how it works. If a Southern man aspires to be President, they choke him down instantly, in order that the glittering prize of the presidency may be held up on Southern terms to the greedy eyes of Northern ambition. With this they tempt us and break it upon us.

Republicans lose the election. Democrats elect Buchanan, drawing to them a great many Whigs who look upon the Republicans as too radical.

December 10th. We have another annual Presidential message. Like a rejected lover making merry at the wedding of his rival, the President [Pierce] felicitated himself hugely over the late Presidential election. He considers the result a signal triumph of good principles and good men, and a very pointed rebuke of bad ones. He says the people did it. He forgets that the "people," as he complacently calls only those who voted for Buchanan, are in a minority of the whole people by about four hundred thousand votes—one full tenth of all the votes. Remembering this, he might perceive that the "rebuke" may not be quite as durable as he seems to think—that the majority may not choose to remain permanently rebuked by that minority.

The President thinks that the great body of us Fremonters, being ardently attached to liberty, in the abstract, were duped by a few wicked and designing men. There is a slight difference of opinion on this. We think he, being ardently attached to the hope of a second term, in the concrete, was duped by men who had liberty every way. He is the cat's-paw. By much dragging of chestnuts from the fire for others to eat, his claws are burnt off to the gristle, and he is thrown aside as unfit for further use. As the fool said of *King Lear* when his daughters had turned him out of doors, "He's a shelled peascod."

Our government rests in public opinion. Whoever can change public opinion can change the government practically just so much. Public opinion, on any subject, always has a "central idea," from which all its minor thoughts radiate. That "central idea" in our political public opinion at the beginning was, and until recently has continued to be, "the equality of men." And although it has always submitted patiently to whatever of inequality there seemed to be as matter of actual necessity, its constant working has been a steady progress toward the practical equality of all men. The late Presidential election was a struggle by one party to discard that central idea and to substitute for it the opposite idea that slavery is right in the abstract, the workings of which as a central idea may be the perpetuity of human slavery and its extension to all countries and colors.

1857

Apropos the rumor that Mrs. Lincoln ruled the house—

February 20th. (To John E. Rosette.) Your note about the little paragraph in the *Republican* was received yesterday, since which time I have been too unwell to notice it. I had not supposed you wrote or approved it. The whole originated in mistake. You know by the conversation with me that I thought the establishment of the paper unfortunate, but I always expected to throw no obstacle in its way, and to patronize it to the extent of taking and paying for one copy. When the paper was brought to my house, my wife said to me, "Now are you going to take another worthless little paper?" I said to her *evasively,* "I have not directed the paper to be left." From this, in my absence, she sent the message to the carrier. This is the whole story.

March 6th. Dred Scott Decision. There follows another act in the oratorical duel between Lincoln and Douglas. The latter delivers a speech at Springfield defending the decision and denouncing its critics. He professes to believe that the Republicans advocate a mixture of races. To this charge especially Lincoln replies.

June 26th. There is a natural disgust, in the minds of nearly all white people, at the idea of an indiscriminate amalgamation of the white and black races; and Judge Douglas evidently is basing his chief hope upon the chances of his being

able to appropriate the benefit of this disgust to himself. If he can, by much drumming and repeating, fasten the odium of that idea upon his adversaries, he thinks he can struggle through the storm. He, therefore, clings to this hope, as a drowning man to the last plank. He makes an occasion for lugging it in from the opposition of the Dred Scott decision. He finds the Republicans insisting that the Declaration of Independence includes *all* men, black as well as white, and forthwith he boldly denies that it included negroes at all, and proceeds to argue gravely that all who contend it does do so only because they want to vote, and eat, and sleep, and marry with negroes. He will have it that they can not be consistent else. Now I protest against the counterfeit logic which concludes that because I do not want a black woman for a slave I must necessarily want her for a wife. I need not have her for either. I can just leave her alone. In some respects she certainly is not my equal; but in her natural right to eat the bread she earns with her own hands without asking leave of any one else, she is my equal, and the equal of all others.

Chief Justice Taney, in his opinion in the Dred Scott case, admits that the language of the Declaration is broad enough to include the whole human family; but he and Judge Douglas argue that the authors of that instrument did not intend to include negroes, by the fact that they did not at once actually place all white men on an equality with one another. And this is the staple argument of both the Chief Justice and the Senator for doing this obvious violence to the plain, unmistakable language of the Declaration.

I think the authors of that notable instrument intended to include *all* men, but they did not intend to declare all men equal *in all respects*. They did not mean to say all men were equal in color, size, intellect, moral developments, or social capacity. They defined with tolerable distinctness in what respects they did consider all men created equal, equal with "cer-

tain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." This they said, and this they meant. They did not mean to assert the obvious untruth, that all were then actually enjoying that quality, nor yet that they were about to confer it immediately upon them. In fact, they had no power to confer such a boon. They meant simply to declare the *right,* so that the *enforcement* of it might follow as fast as circumstances should permit.

I have said that the separation of the races is the only perfect preventive of amalgamation. I have no right to say all the members of the Republican party are in favor of this, nor to say that as a party they are in favor of it. There is nothing in their platform directly on the subject. But I can say a very large proportion of its members are for it, and that the chief plank in their platform—opposition to the spread of slavery—is most favorable to that separation.

Such separation, if ever effected at all, must be effected by colonization; and no political party, as such, is now doing anything directly for colonization. Party operations at present only favor or retard colonization incidentally. The enterprise is a difficult one; but "where there is a will there is a way," and what colonization needs most is a hearty will. Will springs from the two elements of moral sense and self-interest. Let us be brought to believe it is morally right, and at the same time favorable to, or at least not against, our interest to transfer the African to his native clime, and we shall find a way to do it, however great the task may be. The children of Israel, to such numbers as to include four hundred thousand fighting men, went out of Egyptian bondage in a body.

How differently the respective courses of the Democratic and Republican parties incidentally bear on the question of forming a will—a public sentiment—for colonization, is easy to see. The Republicans inculcate, with whatever of ability they can, that the negro is a man, that his bondage is cruelly

wrong, and that the field of his oppression ought not to be enlarged. The Democrats deny his manhood; deny, or dwarf to insignificance, the wrong of his bondage; so far as possible, crush all sympathy for him, and cultivate and excite hatred and disgust against him; compliment themselves as Union-savers for doing so; and call the indefinite outspreading of his bondage "a sacred right of self-government."

The plainest print can not be read through a gold eagle; and it will be ever hard to find many men who will send a slave to Liberia, and pay his passage, while they can send him to a new country—Kansas, for instance—and sell him for fifteen hundred dollars, and the rise.

He is beginning to have considerable reputation as a public speaker; receives an invitation to speak in Iowa.

August. I lost nearly all the working part of last year, giving my time to the canvass; and I am altogether too poor to lose two years together. I am engaged in a suit in the United States Court at Chicago, in which the Rock Island Bridge Company is a party. The trial is to commence on the 8th of September, and probably will last two or three weeks. During the trial it is not improbable that all hands may come over and take a look at the bridge, and if it were possible to make it hit right, I could then speak at Davenport. My courts go right on without cessation till late in November.

September. Lincoln argues his most celebrated civil suit, defending the owners of a bridge over the Mississippi (Rock Island Bridge Company) against prosecution by the steamboat interests. The jury disagrees, nine for the bridge, three against it.

Soon after this comes his most famous criminal case.

(To Hannah Armstrong.) I have just heard of your deep

affliction, and the arrest of your son for murder. I can hardly believe that he can be capable of the crime alleged against him. It does not seem possible. I am anxious that he should be given a fair trial at any rate; and gratitude for your long-continued kindness to me in adverse circumstances prompts me to offer my humble services gratuitously in his behalf.

It will afford me an opportunity to requite, in a small degree, the favors I received at your hand, and that of your lamented husband, when your roof afforded me a grateful shelter without money and without price.*

November. Breach between Douglas and Buchanan over the proposed admission of Kansas as a slave State under its so-called "Lecompton Constitution" adopted September, 1857. Douglas, believing this constitution to be the result of a packed election, refuses to stand by the President in urging the admission of the State. In the controversy which ensues he makes his famous assertion that he does not care whether slavery is "voted up or down" in Kansas, that his sole care is whether the conclusion is reached through the free exercise of local choice, through "popular sovereignty."

30th. (To Lyman Trumbull.) What think you of the probable *"rumpus"* among the Democracy over the Kansas Constitution? I think the Republicans should stand clear of it. In their view both the President and Douglas are wrong; and they should not espouse the cause of either, because they may consider the other a little the farther wrong of the two. From what I am told here, Douglas tried, before leaving, to draw off some Republicans on this issue, and even succeeded in making some impression on one or two.

*When Lincoln was keeping store at New Salem, Jack Armstrong, father of the boy now accused of murder, was a wild young fellow who nevertheless became his fast friend. Their freindship began with a wrestling match in which Lincoln was the victor. See also p. 134.

Certain eastern Republicans seize upon the quarrel between Douglas and Buchanan as a chance to win Douglas to their side.

December 28th. What does the *New York Tribune* mean by its constant eulogizing, and admiring, and magnifying Douglas? Does it, in this, speak the sentiments of the Republicans at Washington? Have they concluded that the Republican cause, generally, can be best prompted by sacrificing us here in Illinois? If so we would like to know it soon; it will save us a great deal of labor to surrender at once.

As yet I have heard of no Republican here going over to Douglas; but if the *Tribune* continues to din his praises into the ears of its five or ten thousand Republican readers in Illinois, it is more than can be hoped that all will stand firm.

1858

February 23rd. This [autograph album] is the first book for such a purpose I ever saw. (Writes on the first page.) To-day, February 23, 1858, the owner honored me with the privilege of writing the first name in this book.

Senatorial contest in Illinois for seat occupied by Douglas which will be vacant in 1859. Douglas hopes to succeed himself. Lincoln is his rival.

April 21st. I have believed—I do believe now—that Greeley, for instance, would be rather pleased to see Douglas reelected over me or any other Republican; and yet I do not believe it is because of any secret arrangement with Douglas. It is because he thinks Douglas's superior position, reputation, experience, ability, if you please, would more than compensate for his lack of a pure Republican position, and therefore his reelection would do the general cause of Republicanism more good than would the election of any one of our better undistinguished pure Republicans.

Greeley writes to Lincoln to the effect that he ought not to renew his candidacy for the Senate but should contribute to win over Douglas.

May 7th. Lincoln wins his most famous criminal case, clearing Duff Armstrong of the charge of murder. He proves that evidence given was false because it misrepresented the state of the moon on the night when the murder was said to have taken place.

May 10th. Politically speaking, there is a curious state of things here. The impulse of almost every Democrat is to stick to Douglas; but it horrifies them to have to follow him out of the Democratic party. A good many are annoyed that he did not go for the English contrivance, and thus heal the breach. They begin to think there is a "negro in the fence,"—that Douglas really wants to have a fuss with the President;—that sticks in their throats.

15th. The "State Register" here is evidently laboring its old friends into what the doctors call the "comatose state"—that is, a sort of drowsy, dreamy condition, in which they may not perceive or remember that there has ever been, or is, any difference between Douglas and the President. This could be done if the Buchanan men would allow it—which, however, the latter seem determined not to do.

I think our prospects gradually and steadily grow better, though we are not yet clear out of the woods by a great deal.

27th. Political matters just now bear a very mixed and incongruous aspect. For several days the signs have been that Douglas and the President have probably buried the hatchet—Douglas's friends at Washington going over to the President's side, and his friends here and South of here talking as if there never had been any serious difficulty, while the President himself does nothing for his own peculiar friends here. But this morning my partner, Mr. Herndon, receives a letter from Mr. Medill of the *Chicago Tribune,* showing the writer to be in great alarm at the prospect North of Republicans going over to Douglas, on the idea that Douglas is going to assume steep Free-soil ground, and furiously assail the administration on the stump when he comes home. There certainly is a double game being played somehow. Possibly—even probably—Douglas is temporarily deceiving the President in order to crush out the 8th of June convention here. Unless he plays his double game more successfully than we have often seen

done, he can not carry many Republicans North, without at the same time losing a larger number of his old friends South.

In spite of Eastern opposition, the Illinois Republicans nominate Lincoln as their candidate for United States Senator.

June 16th. (To Convention which had just nominated him.) If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could better judge what to do, and how to do it. We are now far into the fifth year since a policy was initiated with the avowed object and confident promise of putting an end to slavery agitation. Under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only not ceased but has constantly augmented. In my opinion, it will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. "A house divided against itself can not stand." I believe this government can not endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States—old as well as new, North as well as South . . .

Judge Douglas, if not a *dead lion,* is at least a *caged* and *toothless* one. How can he oppose the advances of slavery? He don't care anything about it. His avowed mission is impressing the "public heart" to care nothing about it.

A leading Douglas Democratic newspaper thinks Douglas's superior talent will be needed to resist the revival of the African slave-trade. Does Douglas believe an effort to revive that trade is approaching? He has not said so. Does he *really* think so? But, if it is, how can he resist it? For years he has

labored to prove it a sacred right of white men to take negro slaves into the new Territories. Can he possibly show that it is less a sacred right to buy them where they can be bought cheapest? And unquestionably they can be bought cheaper in Africa than in Virginia.

He has done all in his power to reduce the whole question of slavery to one of a mere right of property; and as such, how can he oppose the foreign slave-trade—how can he refuse that trade in that "property" shall be "perfectly free,"—unless he does it as a *protection* to the home production? And, as the home *producers* will probably not ask the protection, he will be wholly without a ground of opposition.

Our cause, then, must be instructed to, and conducted by, its own undoubted friends—those whose hands are free, whose hearts are in the work, who do care for the result.

Two years ago the Republicans of the nation mustered over thirteen hundred thousand strong. We did this under the single impulse of resistance to a common danger; with every external circumstance against us. Of strange, discordant, and even hostile elements, we gathered from the four winds, and formed and fought the battle through, under the constant hot fire of a disciplined, proud, and pampered enemy. Did we brave all then to falter now?—*now,* when that same enemy is wavering, dissevered, and belligerent? The result is not doubtful. We shall not fail—if we stand firm, we shall not fail. *Wise counsels* may *accelerate* or *mistakes delay* it, but sooner or later, the victory is *sure* to come.

24th. (To Henry C. Whitney.) Your letter enclosing the attack of the Times upon me was received this morning.—Give yourself no concern about my voting against the supplies,* unless you are without faith that a lie can be successfully con-

*He is always careful to make plain that in 1848 in Congress he voted against the mode of starting the war, not against its continuance, once begun. This was the recognized Whig position.

tradicted. There is not a word of truth in the charge, and I am just considering a little as to the best shape to put a contradiction in. Show this to whomever you please, but do not publish it in the papers.

25th. (To J. W. Somers.) It may well puzzle older heads than yours to understand *how,* as the Dred Scott decision holds, Congress can authorize a territorial legislature to do anything else, and can not authorize them to prohibit slavery. This is one of the things the court can *decide,* but can never give an intelligible reason for.

The campaign for the election of a State Legislature that should choose a new Senator opens at Chicago July 9th, with the speech of Douglas from a balcony of the Tremont House. Lincoln is present and the following night replies. In the political duel which follows, the issues, aside from challenging the records of the candidates, are the same as at the time of the Peoria speech (October 16, 1854) except for one thing. Since then the Dred Scott decision (March 7, 1857) has extended the principle of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill to all the Territories, which are thus declared to be open to slavery if their inhabitants so desire, and denies the right of Congress to close the Territories against slavery. The most burning question of the moment is, what attitude shall be taken toward this decision.

Attempts to patch up the quarrel between Douglas and Buchanan having failed, Douglas is very bitter against the President, and even accuses him of playing into the hands of the Republicans in Illinois.

July 10th. At Chicago.

My fellow-citizens: On yesterday evening, upon the occasion of the reception given to Senator Douglas, I was furnished with a seat very convenient for hearing him and was

otherwise very courteously treated by him and his friends, and for which I thank him and them. During the course of his remarks my name was mentioned in such a way as, I suppose, renders it at least not improper that I should make some sort of reply to him. I shall not attempt to follow him in the precise order in which he addressed the assembled multitude upon that occasion, though I shall perhaps do so in the main.

There was one question to which he asked the attention of the crowd, which I deem of somewhat less importance—at least of propriety for me to dwell upon—than the others, which he brought in near the close of his speech, and which I think it would not be entirely proper for me to omit attending to; and yet if I were not to give some attention to it now, I should probably forget it altogether. While I am upon this subject, allow me to say that I do not intend to indulge in that inconvenient mode sometimes adopted in this public speaking, of reading from documents; but I shall depart from that rule so far as to read a little scrap from his speech, which notices this first topic of which I shall speak—that is, provided I can find it in the paper.

"I have made up my mind to appeal to the people against the combination that has been made against me.* The Republican leaders have formed an alliance, an unholy and unnatural alliance, with a portion of unscrupulous federal office-holders. I intend to fight that allied army wherever I meet them. I know they deny the alliance, but yet these men who are trying to divide the Democratic party for the purpose of electing a Republican Senator in my place, are just so much the agents and tools of the supporters of Mr. Lincoln. Hence I shall deal with this allied army just as the Russians dealt with the allies at Sebastopol—that is, the Russians did not stop to inquire, when they fired a broadside, whether it hit an

*This may be called the third round of the persistent duel of these inveterate political enemies. See pp. 99 and 103. Herndon implies that their animosity was personal as well as political.

Englishman, a Frenchman, or a Turk. Nor will I stop to inquire, nor shall I hesitate, whether my blows shall hit these Republican leaders or their allies, who are holding the federal offices and yet acting in concert with them."

Well, now, gentlemen, is not that very alarming? Just to think of it; right at the outset of his canvass, I, a poor, kind, amiable, intelligent gentleman—I am to be slain in this way. Why, my friend the judge is not only, as it turns out, not a dead lion, nor even a living one—he is the rugged Russian bear!

But if they will have it—for he says that we deny it—that there is any such alliance, as he says there is—and I don't propose hanging very much up on this question of veracity—but if he will have it that there is such an alliance—that the Administration men and we are allied, and we stand in the attitude of English, French, and Turk, he occupying the position of the Russian—in that case I beg he will indulge us while we barely suggest to him that these allies took Sebastopol.

Judge Douglas made two points upon my recent speech at Springfield. Gentlemen, Judge Douglas informed you that this speech of mine was probably carefully prepared. I admit that it was. I am not a master of language; I have not a fine education; I am not capable of entering into a disquisition upon dialectics, as I believe you call it; but I do not believe the language I employed bears any such construction as Judge Douglas puts upon it.

I have said a hundred times, and I have now no inclination to take it back, that I believe there is no right and ought to be no inclination in the people of the free States to enter into the slave States and interfere with the question of slavery at all.

Now in relation to this inference that I am in favor of a general consolidation of all the local institutions of the various States. I have said very many times in Judge

Douglas's hearing that no man believed more than I in the principle of self-government; that it lies at the bottom of all my ideas of just government, from beginning to end. I have denied that his use of that term applies properly. I believe each individual is naturally entitled to do as he pleases with himself and the fruit of his labor, so far as it in no wise interferes with any other man's rights; that each community, as a State, has a right to do exactly as it pleases with all the concerns within that State that interfere with the right of no other State; and that the General Government, upon principle, has no right to interfere with anything other than that general class of things that does not concern the whole. I have said that at all times. I have said as illustrations that I do not believe in the right of Illinois to interfere with the cranberry laws of Indiana, the oyster laws of Virginia, or the liquor laws of Maine. I have said these things over and over again, and I repeat them here as my sentiments.

How is it, then, that Judge Douglas infers, because I hope to see slavery put where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction, that I am in favor of Illinois going over and interfering with the cranberry laws of Indiana?

So much then as to my disposition—my wish—to have all the State Legislatures blotted out, and to have one consolidated government, and a uniformity of domestic regulations in all the States; by which I suppose it is meant, if we raise corn here, we must make sugar-cane grow here too, and we must make those things which grow North grow in the South. All this I suppose he understands I am in favor of doing. Now, so much for all this nonsense—for I must call it so. The judge can have no issue with me on a question of establishing uniformity in the domestic regulations of the States.

I have expressed heretofore, and I now repeat, my opposition to the Dred Scott decision; but I should be allowed to

state the nature of that opposition, and I ask your indulgence while I do so. What is fairly implied by the term Judge Douglas has used, "resistance to the decision"? I do not resist it. If I wanted to take Dred Scott from his master, I would be interfering with property, and that terrible difficulty that Judge Douglas speaks of, of interfering with property, would arise. But I am doing no such thing as that; all that I am doing is refusing to obey it as a political rule. If I were in Congress, and a vote should come up on a question whether slavery should be prohibited in a new Territory, in spite of the Dred Scott decision, I would vote that it should.

What are the uses of decisions of courts? They have two uses. As rules of property they have two uses. First—they decide upon the question before the court. They decide in this case that Dred Scott is a slave. Nobody resists that. Not only that, but they say to everybody else that persons standing just as Dred Scott stands are as he is. That is, they say that when a question comes up upon another person, it will be so decided again, unless the court decides in another way, unless the court overrules its decision. Well, we mean to do what we can to have the court decide the other way. That is one thing we mean to try to do.

15th. (To Gustave Koerner.) I have just been called on by one of our German Republicans here, to ascertain if Mr. Hecker could not be prevailed on to visit this region and address the Germans, at this place, and a few others at least. Please ascertain and write me. He would of course have to be paid something. Find out from him about how much.

I have just returned from Chicago. Douglas took nothing by his motion there—in fact, by his rampant endorsement of the Dred Scott decision he drove back a few Republicans who were favorably inclined towards him. His tactics just now, in part, is to make it appear that he is having a triumphal entry into, and march through the country; but it is all as

bombastic and hollow as Napoleon's bulletins sent back from his campaign in Russia. I was present at his reception in Chicago, and it was certainly very large and imposing; but judging from the opinions of others better acquainted with faces there, and by the strong call for me to speak, when he closed, I really believe we could have voted him down in that very crowd.

Our meeting, twenty-four hours later, called only twelve hours before it came together and got up without trumpery, was really as large and five times as enthusiastic.

17th. At Springfield.

There is still a disadvantage under which we [Republicans] labor, and to which I will ask your attention. It arises out of the relative positions of the two persons who stand before the State as candidates for the Senate. Senator Douglas is of world-wide renown. All the anxious politicians of his party, or who have been of his party for years past, have been looking upon him as certainly, at no distant day, to be the President of the United States. They have seen in his round, jolly, fruitful face, post-offices, land-offices, marshalships and cabinet appointments, chargeships and foreign missions, bursting and sprouting out in wonderful exuberance, ready to be laid hold of by their greedy hands. And as they have been gazing upon this attractive picture so long, they can not, in the little distraction that has taken place in the party, bring themselves to give up the charming hope; but with greedier anxiety they rush about him, sustain him, and give him marches, triumphal entries, and receptions beyond what even in the days of his highest prosperity they could have brought about in his favor. On the contrary, nobody has ever expected me to be President. In my poor, lean, lank face nobody has ever seen that any cabbages were sprouting out. These are disadvantages, all taken together, that the Republicans labor under. *We* have to fight this battle

upon principle, and upon principle alone. I am, in a certain sense, made the standard-bearer in behalf of the Republicans. I was made so merely because there had to be some one so placed—I being in no wise preferable to any other one of the twenty-five—perhaps a hundred—we have in the Republican ranks. Then I say I wish it to be distinctly understood and borne in mind, that we have to fight this battle without many—perhaps without any—of the external aids which are brought to bear against us. So I hope those with whom I am surrounded have principle enough to nerve themselves for the task, and leave nothing undone that can be fairly done to bring about the right result.

Although I have ever been opposed to slavery, so far I rested in the hope and belief that it was in the course of ultimate extinction. For that reason, it had been a minor question with me. I might have been mistaken; but I had believed, and now believe, that the whole public mind, that is, the mind of the great majority, had rested in that belief up to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.* But upon that event, I became convinced that either I had been resting in a delusion, or the institution was being placed on a new basis—a basis for making it perpetual, national, and universal. Subsequent events have greatly confirmed me in that belief. I believe that bill to be the beginning of a conspiracy for that purpose. So believing, I have since then considered that question a paramount one. So believing, I think the public mind will never rest till the power of Congress to restrict the spread of it shall again be acknowledged and exercised on the one hand, or, on the other, all resistance be entirely crushed out. I have expressed that opinion, and I entertain it to-night. It is denied that there is any tendency to the nationalization of slavery in these States.

Now, as to the Dred Scott decision; for upon that he

*That is, the enactment of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill.

[Douglas] makes his last point at me. I am opposed to that decision in a certain sense, but not in the sense which he puts on it. I say that in so far as it decided in favor of Dred Scott's master, and against Dred Scott and his family, I do not propose to disturb or resist the decision.

I never have proposed to do any such thing. I think, that in respect for judicial authority, my humble history would not suffer in comparison with that of Judge Douglas. He would have the citizens conform his vote to that decision; the member of Congress, his; the President, his use of the veto power. He would make it a rule of political action for the people and all the departments of the Government. I would not. By resisting it as a political rule, I disturb no right of property, create no disorder, excite no mobs.

One more thing. Last night Judge Douglas tormented himself with horrors about my disposition to make negroes perfectly equal with white men in social and political relations.

My declarations upon this subject of negro slavery may be misrepresented, but can not be misunderstood. I have said that I do not understand the Declaration to mean that all men were created equal in all respects. They are not our equal in color; but I suppose that it does mean to declare that all men are equal in some respects; they are equal in their right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Certainly the negro is not our equal in color—perhaps not in many other respects; still, in the right to put into his mouth the bread that his own hands earned, he is the equal of every other man, white or black.

When our Government was established, we had the institution of slavery among us. We were in a certain sense compelled to tolerate its existence. It was a sort of necessity. We had gone through our struggle, and secured our own independence. The framers of the Constitution found the institution of slavery among their other institutions at the time. They

found that by an effort to eradicate it, they might lose much of what they had already gained. They were obliged to bow to the necessity. They gave power to Congress to abolish the slave-trade at the end of twenty years. They also prohibited slavery in the Territories where it did not exist. They did what they could and yielded to necessity for the rest. I also yield to all which follows from that necessity. What I would most desire would be the separation of the white and black races.

20th. (To John Mathers.) Your kind and interesting letter of the 19th was duly received. Your suggestions as to placing one's self on the offensive rather than the *defensive* are certainly correct. That is a point which I shall not disregard. I spoke here on Saturday night. The speech, not very well reported, appears in the *State Journal* of this morning. You doubtless will see it; and I hope that you will perceive in it, that I am already improving. I would mail you a copy now, but have not one at hand. I thank you for your letter and shall be pleased to hear from you again.

In the midst of the political duel and in spite of his growing legal practise money questions are pressing.

(To Henry E. Dummer.) When I was in Beardstown last spring, Doctor Sprague said if I would leave a bill, he would pay it before long. I do not now remember that I spoke to you about it. I am now in need of money. Suppose we say the amount shall be $50? If the Doctor is satisfied with that, please get the money and send it to me.

He decides upon a pitched battle with Douglas.

24th. (To Stephen A. Douglas.) My dear Sir: Will it be agreeable to you to make an arrangement for you and myself

to divide time, and address the same audiences the present canvass? Mr. Judd, who will hand you this, is authorized to receive your answer; and, if agreeable to you, to enter in the terms of such arrangement.

Invitation to joint debate accepted by Douglas.

29th. (To Stephen A. Douglas.) Yours of the 24th in relation to an arrangement to divide time and address the same audiences is received; and, in apology for not sooner replying, allow me to say, that when I sat by you at dinner yesterday,* I was not aware that you had answered my note, nor certainly that my own had been presented to you. An hour after I saw a copy of your answer in the *Chicago Times* and reaching home, I found the original awaiting me. Protesting that your insinuations of attempted unfairness on my part are unjust, and with hope that you did not very considerately make them, I proceed to reply.

As to your surprise that I did not sooner make the proposal to divide time with you, I can only say I made it as soon as I resolved to make it. I did not know but that such proposal would come from you; I waited, respectfully, to see. It may have been well known to you that you went to Springfield for the purpose of agreeing on the plan of campaign; but it was not so known to me. When your appointments were announced in the papers, extending only to the 21st of August, I for the first time considered it certain that you would make no proposal to me, and then resolved that, if my friends concurred, I would make one to you. As soon thereafter as I could see and consult with friends satisfactorily, I did make the proposal.

I agree to an arrangement for us to speak at the seven places you have named, and at your own times, provided you

*The temper of politics at that time permitted men to call one another liars and robbers on the stump and yet hobnob off the stump in the most friendly way.

name the times at once, so that I, as well as you, can have to myself the time not covered by the arrangement. As to the other details, I wish perfect reciprocity, and no more. I wish as much time as you, and that conclusions shall alternate. That is all.

31st. (To Stephen A. Douglas.) Yours of yesterday, naming places, times and terms for joint discussions between us, was received this morning. Although, by the terms, as you propose, you take *four* openings and closes to my *three,* I accede, and thus close the arrangement.

(To Henry Asbury.) Yours of the 28th is received. The points you propose to press upon Douglas he will be very hard to get up to, but I think you labor under a mistake when you say no one cares how he answers. This implies that it is equal with him whether he is injured here or at the South. That is a mistake. He cares nothing for the South; he knows he is already dead there. He only leans Southward more to keep the Buchanan party from growing in Illinois. You shall have hard work to get him directly to the point whether a territorial legislature has or has not the power to exclude slavery. But if you succeed in bringing him to it—though he will be compelled to say it possesses no such power—he will instantly take ground that slavery can not actually exist in the Territories unless the people desire it, and so give it protection by territorial legislation. If this offends the South, he will let it offend them, as at all events he means to hold on to his chances in Illinois.*

Lincoln keeps a sharp eye on strategical dangers everywhere in Illinois.

August 2nd. (To B. C. Cook.) I have a letter from a very true friend and intelligent man insisting that there is a plan

*This astute forecast of what Douglas will be driven to do is the clew to Lincoln's strategy throughout the debates.

on foot in La Salle and Bureau to run Douglas Republicans for Congress and for the Legislature in those counties, if they can only get the encouragement of our folks nominating pretty extreme abolitionists. It is thought they will do nothing if our folks nominate men who are not very obnoxious to the charge of abolitionism. Please have your eye upon this. Signs are looking pretty fair.

5th. I do not understand the Republican party to be committed to the proposition "No more slave States." I think they are not so committed. Most certainly they prefer there should be no more, but I know there are many of them who think we are under obligations to admit slave States from Texas, if such shall be presented for admission; but I think the party as such is not committed either way.

6th. (To Gustave Koerner.) Yesterday morning I found a drop letter from Governor Bissel urging, partly in consequence of a letter from you, that my late speeches, or some of them, shall be printed in pamphlet form both in English and German. Having had a good many letters to the same effect, I went at once to the *Journal* office here, and set them to work to print me in English fifty dollars' worth of my last speech at Springfield, July 17th, that appearing, by what I hear, to be the most "taking" speech I have made. From that sum they will furnish about 7,000; they will, at the same time, print some more, on their account, and keep the type standing for a while.

Douglas makes the opening speech on the first joint debate, at Ottawa, August 21st, propounding various questions, reviewing his own record, and accusing Lincoln of having made a deal with Trumbull when both were candidates in 1854. A large part of the debates which follow is strategic jugglery of the political records of the two rivals. They add practically nothing to their statements of political faith. In reality, two

experienced jury lawyers are trying each other before the bar of local opinion each aiming to make the other's record discredit him.

21st. At Ottawa.

When a man hears himself somewhat misrepresented, it provokes him—at least, I find it so with myself; but when misrepresentation becomes very gross and palpable, it is more apt to amuse him. The first thing I see fit to notice is the fact that Judge Douglas alleges after running through the history of the old Democratic and the old Whig parties, that Judge Trumbull and myself made an arrangement in 1854, by which I was to have the place of General Shields in the United States Senate, and Judge Trumbull was to have the place of Judge Douglas. Now all I have to say upon that subject is that I think no man—not even Judge Douglas—can prove it, *because it is not true.* I have no doubt he is *"conscientious"* in saying it. As to those resolutions that he took such a length of time to read, as being the platform of the Republican party in 1854, I say I never had anything to do with them, and I think Trumbull never had.

Now, gentlemen, this is the true complexion of all I have ever said in regard to the institution of slavery and the black race. This is the whole of it, and everything that argues me into his idea of perfect social and political equality with the negro is but a specious and fantastic arrangement of words, by which a man can prove a horse-chestnut to be a chestnut horse. I will say here, while upon this subject, that I have no purpose, either directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so. I have no purpose to introduce political and social equality between the white and the black races. There is a physical difference between the two, which, in my judgment, will probably forever

forbid their living together upon the footing of perfect equality; and inasmuch as it becomes a necessity that there must be a difference, I, as well as Judge Douglas, am in favor of the race to which I belong having the superior position.

Now I pass on to consider one or two more of these little follies. The Judge is woefully at fault about his early friend Lincoln being a "grocery-keeper." I don't know that it would be a great sin if I had been; but he is mistaken. Lincoln never kept a grocery anywhere in the world. It is true that Lincoln did work the latter part of one winter in a little still-house up at the head of a hollow. And so I think my friend, the Judge, is equally at fault when he charges me at the time when I was in Congress of having opposed our soldiers who were fighting in the Mexican War. The Judge did not make his charge very distinctly, but I tell you what he can prove, by referring to the record. You remember I was an Old Whig, and whenever the Democratic party tried to get me to vote that the war had been righteously begun by the President, I would not do it. But whenever they asked for any money, or land-warrants, or anything to pay the soldiers there, during all that time, I gave the same vote that Judge Douglas did. You can think as you please as to whether that was consistent. Such is the truth; and the Judge has the right to make all he can out of it. But when he, by a general charge, conveys the idea that I withheld supplies from the soldiers who were fighting in the Mexican War, or did anything else to hinder the soldiers, he is, to say the least, grossly and altogether mistaken, as a consultation of the records will prove to him.

Again: there is in that same quotation from the Nebraska bill this clause—"It being the true intent and meaning of this bill not to legislate slavery into any Territory or *State.*" I have always been puzzled to know what business the word "State" had in that connection. Judge Douglas knows. He *put it there.* He knows what he put it there for. We out-

siders can not say what he put it there for. The law they were passing was not about States, and was not making provision for States. What was it placed there for? After seeing the Dred Scott decision which holds that the people can not exclude slavery from a *Territory,* if another Dred Scott decision shall come, holding that they can not exclude it from a *State,* we shall discover that when the word was originally put there, it was in view of something which was to come in due time, we shall see that it was the *other half* of something. I now say again, if there is any different reason for putting it there, Judge Douglas, in a good-humored way, without calling anybody a liar, *can tell what the reason was.*

In the first place, what is necessary to make an institution national? Not war. There is no danger that the people of Kentucky will shoulder their muskets, and, with a young nigger stuck on every bayonet, march into Illinois and force them upon us. There is no danger of our going over there and making war upon them. Then what is necessary for the nationalization of slavery? It is simply the next Dred Scott decision. It is merely for the Supreme Court to decide that no State under the Constitution can exclude it, just as they have already decided that under the Constitution neither Congress nor the Territorial Legislature can do it. When that is decided and acquiesced in, the whole thing is done.

This man sticks to a decision which forbids the people of a Territory to exclude slavery, and he does so not because he says it is right in itself—he does not give any opinion on that—but because it has been *decided by the court,* and, being decided by the court, he is, as you are, bound to take it in your political action as *law*—not that he judges at all of its merits, but because a decision of the court is to him a *"Thus saith the Lord."* He places it on that ground alone, and you will bear in mind that thus committing himself unreservedly to this decision, *commits him to the next one* just as firmly as to this.

He did not commit himself on account of the merit or demerit of the decision, but it is a *"Thus saith the Lord."* The next decision, as much as this, will be a *"Thus saith the Lord."* There is nothing that can divert or turn him away from this decision.

Henry Clay, my beau ideal of a statesman, the man for whom I fought all my humble life—Henry Clay once said of a class of men who would repress all tendencies to liberty and ultimate emancipation, that they must, if they would do this, go back to the era of our independence, and muzzle the cannon which thunders its annual joyous return; they must blow out the moral lights around us; they must penetrate the human soul, and eradicate there the love of liberty; and then, and not till then, could they perpetuate slavery in this country! To my thinking, Judge Douglas is, by his example and vast influence, doing that very thing in this community when he says that the negro has nothing in the Declaration of Independence. Henry Clay plainly understood the contrary. Judge Douglas is going back to the era of our Revolution, and to the extent of his ability muzzling the cannon which thunders its annual joyous return. When he invites any people, willing to have slavery, to establish it, he is blowing out the moral lights around us. When he says he "cares not whether slavery is voted down or voted up"—that it is a sacred right of self-government—he is, in my judgment, penetrating the human soul and eradicating the light of reason and the love of liberty in this American people.

22nd. (To J. O. Cunningham.) Yours of the 18th, signed as secretary of the Republican club, is received. In the matter of making speeches I am a good deal pressed by invitations from almost all quarters, and while I hope to be at Urbana some time during the canvass, I can not yet say when. Can you not see me at Monticello on the 6th of September?

Douglas and I, for the first time this canvass, crossed

swords here yesterday; the fire flew some, and I am glad to know I am yet alive. There was a vast concourse of people—more than could get near enough to hear.

27th. At Freeport.

On Saturday last, Judge Douglas and myself first met in public discussion. In the course of that opening argument Judge Douglas proposed to me seven distinct interrogatories. . . . I now propose that I will answer any of the interrogatories, upon condition that he will answer questions from me not exceeding the same number. I give him an opportunity to respond. The Judge remains silent. I now say that I will answer his interrogatories, whether he answers mine or not; and that after I have done so, I shall propound mine to him.

Having said this much, I will take up the Judge's interrogatories as I find them printed in the *Chicago Times,* and answer them *seriatim.* In order that there may be no mistake about it, I have copied the interrogatories in writing, and also my answers to them. The first one of these interrogatories is in these words:

Question 1. "I desire to know whether Lincoln to-day stands as he did in 1854, in favor of the unconditional repeal of the Fugitive Slave law?"

Answer. I do not now, nor ever did, stand in favor of the unconditional repeal of the Fugitive Slave law.

Q. 2. "I desire him to answer whether he stands pledged to-day as he did in 1854, against the admission of any more slave States into the Union, even if the people want them?"

A. I do not now, nor ever did, stand pledged against the admission of any more slave States into the Union.

Q. 3. "I want to know whether he stands pledged against the admission of a new State into the Union with such a Constitution as the people of that State may see fit to make?"

A. I do not stand pledged against the admission of a new

State into the Union with such a Constitution as the people of that State may see fit to make.

Q. 4. "I want to know whether he stands to-day pledged to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia?"

A. I do not stand to-day pledged to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

Q. 5. "I desire him to answer whether he stands pledged to the prohibition of the slave-trade between the different States?"

A. I do not stand pledged to the prohibition of the slave-trade between the different States.

Q. 6. "I desire to know whether he stands pledged to prohibit slavery in all the Territories of the United States, North as well as South, of the Missouri Compromise line?"

A. I am impliedly, if not expressly, pledged to a belief in the *right* and *duty* of Congress to prohibit slavery in all the United States Territories.

Q. 7. "I desire him to answer whether he is opposed to the acquisition of any new territory unless slavery is first prohibited therein?"

A. I am not generally opposed to honest acquisition of territory; and, in any given case, I would or would not oppose such acquisition, accordingly as I might think such acquisition would or would not aggravate the slavery question among ourselves.

As to the first one, in regard to the Fugitive Slave law, I have never hesitated to say, and I do not now hesitate to say, that I think, under the Constitution of the United States, the people of the Southern States are entitled to a Congressional Fugitive Slave law. Having said that, I have had nothing to say in regard to the existing Fugitive Slave law, further than that I think it should have been framed so as to be free from some of the objections that pertain to it, without lessening its efficiency. And inasmuch as we are now in an agitation

in regard to an alteration or modification of that law, I would not be the man to introduce it as a new subject of agitation upon the general question of slavery.

In regard to the other question, of whether I am pledged to the admission of any more slave States into the Union, I state to you very frankly that I would be exceedingly sorry ever to be put in a position of having to pass upon that question. I should be exceedingly glad to know that there would never be another slave State admitted into the Union; but I must add, that if slavery shall be kept out of the Territories during the territorial existence of any one given Territory, and then the people shall, having a fair chance and a clear field, when they come to adopt the Constitution, do such an extraordinary thing as to adopt a slave constitution, uninfluenced by the actual presence of the institution among them, I see no alternative, if we own the country, but to admit them into the Union.

The third interrogatory is answered by the answer to the second, it being, as I conceive, the same as the second.

The fourth one is in regard to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. In relation to that, I have my mind very distinctly made up. I should be exceedingly glad to see slavery abolished in the District of Columbia. I believe that Congress possesses the constitutional power to abolish it. Yet as a member of Congress, I should not with my present views, be in favor of *endeavoring* to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia unless it would be upon these conditions: *First,* that the abolition should be gradual; *Second,* that it should be on a vote of the majority of qualified voters in the District; and *third,* that compensation should be made to unwilling owners. With these three conditions, I confess I would be exceedingly glad to see Congress abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and, in the language of Henry Clay, "sweep from our capital that foul blot upon our nation."

In regard to the fifth interrogatory, I must say that as to

the question of the abolition of the slave-trade between the different States, I can truly answer, as I have, that I am pledged to nothing about it. It is a subject to which I have not given that mature consideration that would make me feel authorized to state a position so as to hold myself entirely bound by it. In other words, that question has never been prominently enough before me to induce me to investigate whether we really have the constitutional power to do it. I could investigate it if I had sufficient time to bring myself to a conclusion upon that subject, but I have not done so, and I say so frankly to you here and to Judge Douglas. I must say, however, that if I should be of opinion that Congress does possess the constitutional power to abolish the slave-trade among the different States, I should still not be in favor of the exercise of that power unless upon some conservative principle as I conceive it, akin to what I have said in relation to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

Now in all this, the Judge has me, and he has me on the record. I suppose he had flattered himself that I was really entertaining one set of opinions for one place and another set for another place—that I was afraid to say at one place what I uttered at another. What I am saying here I suppose I say to a vast audience as strongly tending to Abolitionism as any audience in the State of Illinois, and I believe I am saying that which, if it would be offensive to any persons and render them enemies to myself, would be offensive to persons in this audience.

I now proceed to propound to the Judge the interrogatories so far as I have framed them. I will bring forward a new installment when I get them ready. I will bring them forward now, only reaching to number four.

Question 1. If the people of Kansas shall, by means entirely unobjectionable in all other respects, adopt a State constitution, and ask admission into the Union under it, *before*

they have the requisite number of inhabitants according to the English bill—some ninety-three thousand—will you vote to admit them?

Q. 2. Can the people of a United States Territory in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a State Constitution?

Q. 3. If the Supreme Court of the United States shall decide that States can not exclude slavery from their limits, are you in favor of acquiescing in, adopting, and following such decision as a rule of political action?

Q. 4. Are you in favor of acquiring additional territory, in disregard of how such acquisition may affect the nation on the slavery question? . . .

Go on, Judge Douglas.

Douglas replies (1) that as a rule he does not believe in admitting States with less than the statutory population but is willing to make an exception of Kansas and will admit it at once no matter whether the people are for slavery or freedom. Douglas goes on (2) to propound what at once becomes famous as the "Freeport Doctrine," namely, that while Congress has no right to close a Territory to slavery the people of the Territory may "by unfriendly legislation effectively prevent the introduction of it into their midst." The question (3) whether he would acquiesce in an hypothetical decision of the Supreme Court opening the Free States to slavery is denounced by Douglas as preposterous and is squarely answered in the negative. Douglas goes on (4) to describe Lincoln's closing question on his attitude toward new acquisitions of territory as "very ingeniously and cunningly put." He meets it with these words: "just as fast as our interests and our destiny require additional territory in the North, in the South, or on the islands of the ocean, I am for it, and when we acquire it will leave the

people according to the Nebraska bill, free to do as they please on the subject of slavery and every other subject."

September 3rd. (To Doctor William Fithian.) You will see by the *Journal* that I have been appointed to speak at Danville on the 22nd of Sept.—the day after Douglas speaks there. My recent experience shows that speaking at the same place the next day after D. is the very thing—it is, in fact, a concluding speech on him. Give full notice to all surrounding country.

Acting on his plan of supplementing the debates by independent speeches attacking Douglas, Lincoln in a speech at Clinton coins his most famous epigram.

8th. At Clinton.

You can fool all the people some of the time and some of the people all of the time, but you can not fool all the people all of the time.

Douglas will tell a lie to ten thousand people one day, even though he knows he may have to deny it to five thousand the next.

15th. At Jonesboro.

There is very much in the principles that Judge Douglas has enunciated that I most cordially approve, and over which I shall have no controversy with him. In so far as he has insisted that all the States have the right to do exactly as they please about all their domestic relations, including that of slavery, I agree entirely with him.

While I am upon this subject, I will make some answers briefly to certain propositions that Judge Douglas has put. He says, "Why can't this Union endure permanently, half slave and half free?" I have said that I supposed it could not, and I will try, before this new audience, to give briefly some of the reasons for entertaining that opinion. Another form of his

question is, "Why can't we let it stand as our fathers placed it?" That is the exact difficulty between us. I say, that Judge Douglas and his friends have changed it from the position in which our fathers originally placed it. I say, in the way our fathers originally left the slavery question, the institution was in the course of ultimate extinction, and the public mind rested in the belief that it *was* in the course of ultimate extinction. I say when this Government was first established, it was the policy of its founders to prohibit the spread of slavery into the new Territories of the United States, where it had not existed. But Judge Douglas and his friends have broken up that policy, and placed it upon a new basis by which it is to become national and perpetual. All I have asked or desired anywhere is that it should be placed back again upon the basis that the fathers of our Government originally placed it upon. I have no doubt that it *would* become extinct, for all time to come, if we but readopted the policy of the fathers by restricting it to the limits it has already covered—restricting it from the new Territories.

I do not wish to dwell at great length on this branch of the subject at this time, but allow me to repeat one thing that I have stated before. Brooks, the man who assaulted Senator Sumner on the floor of the Senate, and who was complimented with dinners, and silver pitchers, and gold-headed canes, and a good many other things for that fact, in one of his speeches declared that when this Government was originally established, nobody expected that the institution of slavery would last until this day. That was but the opinion of one man, but it was such an opinion as we can never get from Judge Douglas, or anybody in favor of slavery in the North at all. You *can* sometimes get it from a Southern man. He said at the same time that the framers of our Government did not have the knowledge that experience has taught us—that experience and the invention of the cotton-gin have taught us that the perpetu-

ation of slavery is a necessity. He insisted, therefore, upon its being changed from the basis upon which the fathers of the Government left it to the basis of its perpetuation and nationalization.

I insist that this is the difference between Judge Douglas and myself—and that Judge Douglas is helping that change along. I insist upon this Government being placed where our fathers originally placed it.

At Freeport I answered several interrogatories that had been propounded to me by Judge Douglas at the Ottawa meeting. At the same time, I propounded four interrogatories to him, claiming it as a right that he should answer as many interrogatories for me as I did for him, and I would reserve myself for a future installment when I got them ready.

I propose to give the Judge my fifth interrogatory, which he may take and answer at his leisure. My fifth interrogatory is this:

If the slave-holding citizens of a United States Territory should need and demand Congressional legislation for the protection of their slave property in such Territory, would you, as a member of Congress, vote for or against such legislation?

(Judge Douglas: Will you repeat that? I want to answer that question.)

If the slave-holding citizens of a United States Territory should need and demand Congressional legislation for the protection of their slave property in such Territory, would you, as a member of Congress, vote for or against such legislation?

In his rejoinder at Jonesboro, Douglas replies to Lincoln's new question by saying: "I answer him that it is a fundamental article in the Democratic creed that there should be non-interference and non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the States or Territories. Mr. Lincoln could have found an answer to his question in the Cincinnati platform, if he had desired it.

The Democratic party have always stood by that great principle of non-interference and non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the States and Territories alike, and I stand on that platform now."

18th. At Charleston.

It will be very difficult for an audience as large as this to hear distinctly what a speaker says, and consequently it is important that as profound silence be preserved as possible.

While I was at the hotel to-day, an elderly gentleman called upon me to know whether I was really in favor of producing a perfect equality between the negroes and white people. While I had not proposed to myself on this occasion to say much on that subject, yet as the question was asked me I thought I would occupy perhaps five minutes in saying something in regard to it. I will say then that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races—that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of making voters or jurors of negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to inter-marry with white people; and I say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And inasmuch as they can not so live, while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I as much as any other man am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race. I say upon this occasion I do not perceive that because the white man is to have the superior position the negro should be denied everything. I do not understand that because I do not want a negro woman for a slave I must necessarily want her for a wife. My understanding is that I can just let her alone. I am now in my fiftieth year, and I certainly never have had a black woman for either a slave or a

wife. So it seems to me quite possible for us to get along without making either slaves or wives of negroes. I will add to this that I have never seen, to my knowledge, a man, woman, or child who was in favor of producing a perfect equality, social and political, between negroes and white men. I recollect of but one distinguished instance that I ever heard of so frequently as to be entirely satisfied of its correctness—and that is the case of Judge Douglas's old friend Colonel Richard M. Johnson. I will also add to the remarks I have made (for I am not going to enter at large upon this subject), that I have never had the least apprehension that I or my friends would marry negroes if there was no law to keep them from it; but as Judge Douglas and his friends seem to be in great apprehension that they might, if there was no law to keep them from it, I give him the most solemn pledge that I will to the very last, stand by the law of this State, which forbids the marrying of white people with negroes. I will add one further word which is this; that I do not understand that there is any place where an alteration of the social and political relations of the negro and the white man can be made except in the State Legislature—not in the Congress of the United States—and as I do not really apprehend the approach of any such thing myself, and as Judge Douglas seems to be in constant horror that some such danger is rapidly approaching, I propose, as the best means to prevent it, that the Judge be kept at home and placed in the State Legislature to fight the measure. I do not propose dwelling longer at this time on the subject.

In his Freeport Doctrine Douglas has done exactly what Lincoln had aimed to make him do—as foreshadowed in the letter to Henry Asbury, July thirty-first. Douglas, by first asserting that the people of a territory have no constitutional right to exclude slavery and then admitting that they can always find a way to do so if they wish, has given Lincoln the

opportunity to accuse him of duplicity. Lincoln now has Douglas where he wants him and proceeds to drive him further and further into the corner.

Douglas makes a desperate attempt to save himself and shift the issue by renewing his criticism of Lincoln's record during the Mexican War.

At Charleston.

It follows as a matter of course that a half-hour answer to a speech of an hour and a half can be but a very hurried one. I shall only be able to touch upon a few of the points suggested by Judge Douglas, and give them a brief attention, while I shall have to totally omit others for the want of time.

Judge Douglas complains, at considerable length, about a disposition on the part of Trumbull and myself to attack him personally. I want to attend to that suggestion a moment. I don't want to be unjustly accused of dealing illiberally or unfairly with an adversary, either in court, or in a political canvass, or anywhere else. I would despise myself if I supposed myself ready to deal less liberally with an adversary than I was willing to be treated myself. Judge Douglas, in a general way, without putting it in a direct shape, revives the old charge against me in reference to the Mexican War. He does not take the responsibility of putting it in a very definite form, but makes a general reference to it. That charge is more than ten years old. He complains of Trumbull and myself, because he says we bring charges against him one or two years old. He knows, too, that in regard to the Mexican war story, the more respectable papers of his own party throughout the State have been compelled to take it back and acknowledge that it was a lie.

(Here Mr. Lincoln turns to the crowd on the platform, and selecting Honorable Orlando B. Ficklin, leads him forward and says:)

I do not mean to do anything with Mr. Ficklin, except to present his face and tell you that *he personally knows it to be a lie!* He was a member of Congress at the only time I was in Congress, and he knows that whenever there was an attempt to procure a vote of mine which would indorse the origin and justice of the war, I refused to give such indorsement, and voted against it; but I never voted against the supplies for the army, and he knows, as well as Judge Douglas, that whenever a dollar was asked by way of compensation or otherwise, for the benefit of the soldiers, *I gave all the votes that Ficklin or Douglas did, and perhaps more.*

(Mr. Ficklin: My friends, I wish to say this in reference to the matter. Mr. Lincoln and myself are just as good personal friends as Judge Douglas and myself. In reference to this Mexican War, my recollection is that when Ashman's resolution [amendment] was offered by Mr. Ashman of Massachusetts, in which he declared that the Mexican War was unnecessarily and unconstitutionally commenced by the President—my recollection is that Mr. Lincoln voted for that resolution.)

That is the truth. Now you all remember that was a resolution censuring the President for the manner in which the war was *begun.* You know they have charged that I voted against the supplies, by which I starved the soldiers who were out fighting the battles of their country. I say that Ficklin knows it is false. When that charge was brought forward by the *Chicago Times,* the *Springfield Register* (Douglas organ) reminded the *Times* that the charge really applied to John Henry and I do know that John Henry *is now making speeches and fiercely battling for Judge Douglas.* If the Judge now says that he offers this as a sort of a set-off to what I said to-day in reference to Trumbull's charge, then I remind him that he made this charge before I said a word about Trumbull's. He brought this forward at Ottawa, the first time we

met face to face; and in the opening speech that Judge Douglas made, he attacked me in regard to a matter ten years old. Isn't he a pretty man to be whining about people making charges against him only *two* years old!

I take it these people have some sense; they see plainly that Judge Douglas is playing cuttle-fish, a small species of fish that has no mode of defending itself when pursued except by throwing out a black fluid, which makes the water so dark the enemy can not see it, and thus it escapes. Ain't the Judge playing the cuttle-fish?

October 1st. (Note for a speech.) Allow me now, in my own way, to state with what aims and objects I did enter upon this campaign. I claim no extraordinary exemption from personal ambition. That I like preferment as well as the average of men may be admitted. But I protest I have not entered upon this hard contest solely, or even chiefly, for a mere personal object. I clearly see, as I think, a powerful plot to make slavery universal and perpetual in this nation. The effort to carry that plot through will be persistent and long continued, extending far beyond the senatorial term for which Judge Douglas and I are just now struggling. I enter upon the contest to contribute my humble and temporary mite in opposition to that effort.

(Note for a speech.) The sum of pro-slavery theology seems to be this: "Slavery is not universally right, nor yet universally wrong; it is better for some people to be slaves; and, in such cases, it is the will of God that they be such."

Certainly there is no contending against the will of God; but still there is some difficulty in ascertaining and applying it to particular cases. For instance, we will suppose the Reverend Doctor Ross has a slave named Sambo, and the question is, "Is it the will of God that Sambo shall remain a slave, or be set free?" The Almighty gives no audible answer to the

question, and His revelation, the Bible, gives none—or at most none but such as admits of a squabble as to its meaning; no one thinks of asking Sambo's opinion on it.

So at last it comes to this, that Doctor Ross is to decide the question; and while he considers it, he sits in the shade, with gloves on his hands, and subsists on the bread that Sambo is earning in the burning sun. If he decides that God wills Sambo to continue a slave, he thereby retains his own comfortable position; but if he decides that God wills Sambo to be free, he therefore has to walk out of the shade, throw off his gloves, and delve for his own bread. Will Doctor Ross be actuated by the perfect impartiality which has ever been considered most favorable to correct decisions?

7th. At Galesburg.

This is but an opinion, and the opinion of one very humble man: but it is my opinion that the Dred Scott decision, as it is, never would have been made in its present form if the party that made it had not been sustained previously by the elections. My own opinion is that the new Dred Scott decision* deciding against the right of the people of the States to exclude slavery, will never be made if that party is not sustained by the elections. I believe, further, that it is just as sure to be made as to-morrow is to come, if that party shall be sustained. I have said upon a former occasion, and I repeat it now, that the course of argument that Judge Douglas makes use of upon this subject (I charge not his motives in this) is preparing the public mind for that new Dred Scott decision. I have asked him again to point out to me the reasons for his first adherence to the Dred Scott decision as it is. I have turned his attention to the fact that General Jackson differed with him in regard to the political obligation of a Supreme Court decision. Jefferson said that "judges are as honest as

*This hypothetical decision, it should be remembered, is purely an argumentative device, a sort of reductio ad absurdam.

other men, and not more so." And he said, substantially, that whenever a free people should give an absolute submission to any department of government, retaining for themselves no appeal from it, their liberties were gone.

13th. At Quincy.

Now in regard to this matter of the Dred Scott decision, I wish to say a word or two. After all, the Judge will not say whether, if a decision is made holding that the people of the States can not exclude slavery, he will support it or not. He obstinately refuses to say what he will do in that case. The Judges of the Supreme Court as obstinately refuse to say what they would do on this subject. Before I reminded him that at Galesburg he said the judges had expressly declared the contrary, and you remember that in my opening speech I told him I had the book containing that decision here, and I would thank him to lay his finger on the place where any such thing was said. He has occupied his hour and a half, and he has not ventured to try to sustain his assertion. *He never will.* But he is desirous of knowing how we are going to reverse the Dred Scott decision. Judge Douglas ought to know how. Did not he and his political friends find a way to reverse the decision of that same court in favor of the constitutionality of the National Bank? Didn't they find a way to do it so effectually that they have reversed it as completely as any decision ever was reversed, so far as its practical operation is concerned? And let me ask you, didn't Judge Douglas find a way to reverse the decision of our Supreme Court, when it decided that Carlin's father—old Governor Carlin—had not the constitutional power to remove a secretary of state? Did he not appeal to the "mobs," as he calls them? Did he not make speeches in the lobby to show how villainous that decision was, and how it ought to be overthrown? Did he not succeed, too, in getting an act passed by the Legislature to have it overthrown? And didn't he himself sit down on that bench as one of the

five added judges who were to overslaugh the four old ones—getting his name of "Judge" in that way and in no other? If there is a villainy in using disrespect or making opposition to Supreme Court decisions, I commend it to Judge Douglas's earnest consideration. I know of no man in the State of Illinois who ought to know so well about *how much* villainy it takes to oppose a decision of the Supreme Court, as our honorable friend, Stephen A. Douglas.

15th. At Alton.

Judge Douglas knows that we are before an audience having strong sympathies southward by relationship, place of birth, and so on. He desires to place me in an extremely Abolition attitude. He read upon a former occasion, and alludes without reading to-day, to a portion of a speech which I delivered in Chicago. In his quotations from that speech, as he has made them upon former occasions, the extracts were taken in such a way as, I suppose, brings them within the definition of what is called *garbling*—taking portions of a speech which, when taken by themselves, do not present the entire sense of the speaker as expressed at the time. I propose, therefore, out of that same speech, to show how one portion of it which he skipped over (taking an extract before and an extract after,) will give a different idea, and the true idea I intended to convey.

Now I have upon all occasions declared as strongly as Judge Douglas against the disposition to interfere with the existing institution of slavery.

The principle upon which I have insisted in this canvass, is in relation to laying the foundations of new societies. I have never sought to apply these principles to the old States for the purpose of abolishing slavery in those States. It is nothing but a miserable perversion of what I have said, to assume that I have declared Missouri, or any other slave State, shall emancipate her slaves. I have proposed no such thing.

I confess, when I propose a certain measure of policy, it is not enough for me that I do not intend anything evil in the result, but it is incumbent on me to show that it has not a tendency to that result. I have met Judge Douglas in that point of view. I have not only made the declaration that I do not mean to produce a conflict between the States, but I have tried to show by fair reasoning, and I think I have shown to the minds of fair men, that I propose nothing but what has a most peaceful tendency. The quotation that I happened to make in that Springfield speech, that "a house divided against itself can not stand," and which has proved so offensive to the Judge, was part and parcel of the same thing. He tries to show that variety in the domestic institutions of the different States is necessary and indispensable. I do not dispute it.

And I understand as well as Judge Douglas, or anybody else, that these mutual accommodations are the cements which bind together the different parts of this Union—that instead of being a thing to "divide the house"—figuratively expressing the Union—they tend to sustain it; they are the props of the house tending always to hold it up.

I understand I have ten minutes yet. I will employ it in saying something about this argument Judge Douglas uses, while he sustains the Dred Scott decision, that the people of the Territories can still somehow exclude slavery. The first thing I ask attention to is the fact that Judge Douglas constantly said, before the decision, that whether they could or not, *was a question for the Supreme Court.* But after the court has made the decision, he virtually says it is *not* a question for the Supreme Court, but for the people. And how is it he tells us they can exclude it? He says it needs "police regulations," and that admits of "unfriendly legislation." Although it is a right established by the Constitution of the United States to take a slave into a Territory of the United States and hold him as property, yet unless the Territorial

Legislature will give friendly legislation, and, more especially, if they adopt friendly legislation, they can practically exclude him. Now, without meeting this proposition as a matter of fact, I pass to consider the real constitutional obligation. Let me take the gentleman who looks me in the face before me, and let us suppose that he is a member of the Territorial Legislature. The first thing he will do will be to swear that he will support the Constitution of the United States. His neighbor by his side in the Territory has slaves and needs Territorial Legislation to enable him to enjoy that constitutional right. Can he withhold the legislation which his neighbor needs for the enjoyment of a right which is fixed in his favor in the Constitution of the United States which he has sworn to support? Can he withhold it without violating his oath? And more especially, can he pass unfriendly legislation to violate his oath?

Why, this is a *monstrous* sort of talk about the Constitution of the United States! *There has never been as outlandish or lawless a doctrine from the mouth of any respectable man on earth.* I do not believe it is a constitutional right to hold slaves in a Territory of the United States. I believe the decision was improperly made, and I go for reversing it. Judge Douglas is furious against those who go for reversing a decision. But he is for legislating it out of all force while the law itself stands. I repeat that there has never been so monstrous a doctrine from the mouth of a respectable man.

I suppose most of us (I know it of myself) believe that the people of the Southern States are entitled to a Congressional Fugitive Slave law—that it is a right fixed in the Constitution. But it can not be made available to them without congressional legislation. In the Judge's language, it is a "barren right" which needs legislation before it can become efficient and valuable to the persons to whom it is guaranteed. And, as the right is constitutional, I agree that the legis-

lation shall be granted to it—and that not that we like the institution of slavery: we profess to have no taste for running and catching niggers—at least, I profess no taste for that job at all. Why then do I yield support to a Fugitive Slave law? Because I do not understand that the Constitution, which guarantees that right, can be supported without it. And if I believed that the right to hold a slave in a Territory was equally fixed in the Constitution with the right to reclaim fugitives, I should be bound to give it the legislation necessary to support it. I say that no man can deny his obligation to give the necessary legislation to support slavery in a Territory, who believes it is a constitutional right to have it there. No man can, who does not give the Abolitionists an argument to deny the obligation enjoined by the Constitution to enact a Fugitive Slave law. Try it now. It is the strongest Abolition argument ever made. I say, if that Dred Scott decision is correct, then the right to hold slaves in a Territory is equally a constitutional right with the right of a slaveholder to have his runaway returned. No one can show the distinction between them. The one is express, so that we can not deny it; the other is construed to be in the Constitution, so that he who believes the decision to be correct believes in the right. And the man who argues that by unfriendly legislation, in spite of that constitutional right, slavery may be driven from the Territories, can not avoid furnishing an argument by which Abolitionists may deny the obligation to return fugitives, and claim the power to pass laws unfriendly to the right of the slaveholder to reclaim his fugitive. I do not know how such an argument may strike a popular assembly like this, but I defy anybody to go before a body of men whose minds are educated to estimating evidence and reasoning, and show that there is an iota of difference between the constitutional right to reclaim a fugitive, and the constitutional right to hold a slave, in a Territory, provided this Dred Scott decision is

correct. I defy any man to make an argument that will justify unfriendly legislation to deprive a slaveholder of his right to hold his slave in a Territory, that will not equally, in all its length, breadth, and thickness, furnish an argument for nullifying the Fugitive Slave law. Why, there is not such an Abolitionist in the nation as Douglas, after all.

20th. (To Norman B. Judd.) I now have a high degree of confidence that we shall succeed, if we are not overrun with fraudulent votes to a greater extent than usual.

I have a bare suggestion. When there is a known body of these voters, could not a true man, of the *"detective"* class, be introduced among them in disguise, who could, at the nick of time, control their votes? Think this over. It would be a great thing, when this trick is attempted upon us, to have the saddle come up on the other horse.

30th. At Springfield.

To-day closes the discussions of this canvass. The planting and the culture are over; and there remains but the preparation and the harvest.

Ambition has been ascribed to me. God knows how sincerely I prayed from the first that this field of ambition might not be opened. I claim no insensibility to political honors; but to-day could the Missouri restriction be removed, and the whole slavery question replaced on the old ground of "toleration" by *necessity* where it exists, with unyielding hostility to the spread of it, on principle, I would, in consideration, gladly agree, that Judge Douglas should never be *out,* and I never *in,* an office, so long as we both, or either, live.

November 2nd. Legislature elected containing fifty-four Douglas men and forty-six Lincoln men.

For such an awkward fellow I am pretty sure footed. It used to take a pretty dexterous man to throw me. I remember

the evening of the day in 1858 that decided the contest for the Senate between Mr. Douglas and myself, was dark, rainy and gloomy. I had been reading the returns (in the telegraph office), and had ascertained that we had lost the Legislature, and started to go home. The path had been worn pegbacked and was slippery. My foot slipped out from under me, knocking the other out of the way; but I recovered and said to myself, *"It's a slip and not a fall."*

6th. Enthusiastic meeting at Mansfield, Ohio, proposes Lincoln as next Republican candidate for President. Despite his defeat by Douglas his conduct in the debate has fixed upon him the eyes of the whole nation.

16th. (To N. B. Judd.) Yours of the 15th is just received. I wrote you the same day. As to the pecuniary matter, I am willing to pay according to my ability; but I am the poorest hand living to get others to pay. I have been on expenses so long without earning anything that I am absolutely without money now for even household purposes. Still if you can put in two hundred and fifty dollars for me toward discharging the debt of the committee, I will allow it when you and I settle the private matter between us. This, with what I have already paid, and with an outstanding note of mine, will exceed my subscription of five hundred dollars. This, too, is exclusive of my ordinary expenses during the campaign, all of which being added to my loss of time and business, bears pretty heavily upon one no better off in [this] world's goods than I; but as I had the post of honor, it is not for me to be over nice. You are feeling badly—"And this too shall pass away," never fear.

19th. Well, the election is over; and, in the main point, we are beaten. Still my view is that the fight must go on. Let no one falter. The question is not half settled. New splits and

divisions will soon be upon our adversaries, and we shall fuse again.

As a general rule, out of Sangamon as well as in it, much of the plain old Democracy is with us, while nearly all the old exclusive silk-stocking Whiggery is against us. I don't mean nearly all the Old Whig party, but nearly all of the nice exclusive sort. And why not? There has been nothing in politics since the Revolution so congenial to their nature as the present position of the great Democratic party.

I am glad I made the late race. It gave me a hearing on the great and durable question of the age, which I could have had in no other way; and though I now sink out of view, and shall be forgotten, I believe I have made some marks which will tell for the cause of civil liberty long after I am gone.

20th. (To Dr. C. H. Ray.) I believe, according to a letter of yours to Hatch, you are "feeling like hell yet." Quit that. You will soon feel better. Another "blow up" is coming; and we shall have fun again. Douglas managed to be supported both as the best instrument to put down and to uphold the slave power; but no ingenuity can long keep the antagonism in harmony.

December 2nd. I am absent altogether too much to be a suitable instructor for a law student. When a man has reached the age that Mr. Widner has, and has already been doing for himself, my judgment is, that he reads the books for himself without an instructor. That is precisely the way I came to the law. Let Mr. Widner read Blackstone's *Commentaries,* and Chitty's *Pleadings,* Greenleaf's *Evidence,* Story's *Equity,* and Story's *Equity Pleadings,* get a license, and go to the practise, and still keep reading. That is my judgment of the cheapest, quickest, and best way for Mr. Widner to make a lawyer of himself.

11th. Douglas has gone South, making characteristic speeches, and seeking to reinstate himself in that section. The

majority of the Democratic politicians of the nation mean to kill him; but I doubt whether they will adopt the aptest way to do it. Their true way is to present him with no new test, let him into the Charleston convention, and then out-vote him, and nominate another. In that case, he will have no pretext for bolting the nomination, and will be as powerless as they can wish. On the other hand, if they push a Slave Code upon him, as a test, he will bolt at once, turn upon us, as in the case of Lecompton, and claim that all Northern men shall make common cause in electing him President as the best means of breaking down the Slave power. In that case, the Democratic party go into a minority inevitably; and the struggle in the whole North will be, as it was in Illinois last summer and fall, whether the Republican party can maintain its identity, or be broken up to form the tail of Douglas's new kite. Some of our great Republican doctors will then have a splendid chance to swallow the pills they so eagerly prescribed for us last spring. Still I hope they will not swallow them; and although I do not feel that I owe the said doctors much, I will help them, to the best of my ability, to reject the said pills. The truth is, the Republican principle can in no wise live with Douglas; and it is arrant folly now, as it was last spring, to waste time, and scatter labor already performed, in dallying with him.

12th. I expect the result of the election went hard with you. So it did with me, too, perhaps not quite so hard as you may have supposed. I have an abiding faith that we shall beat them in the long run.

1859

Though confident that his party is growing in strength, he opens the new year despondent about his own prospects. He appears to put little value upon the applause called forth by the debates.

January 6th. Well, whatever happens I expect every one to desert me now but Billy Herndon.

29th. Our friends here from different parts of the State, in and out of the Legislature, are united, resolute, and determined and I think it is almost certain that we shall be far better organized for 1860 than ever before.

Other people by no means think Lincoln a dead dog. Trumbull fears a contest with him over Trumbull's place in the Senate.

February 3rd. (To Lyman Trumbull.) And I beg to assure you, beyond all possible cavil, that you can scarcely be more anxious to be sustained two years hence than I am that you shall be so sustained. I can not conceive it possible for me to be a rival of yours, or to take sides against you in favor of any rival. Nor do I think there is much danger of the old Democratic and Whig elements of our party breaking into opposing factions. They certainly shall not, if I can prevent it.

Again his profession demands his time.

March 2nd. Chicago.

At last I am here to give some attention to the suit of Haines vs. Talcott and others.

3rd. (To one of his clients.) I do not think there is the least use of doing any more with the law suit. I not only do not think you are sure to gain it, but I do think you are sure to lose it. Therefore the sooner it ends the better.

He has evidence that his political reputation still lives.

5th. Springfield.

(To Thomas J. Pickett.) Yours of the 2nd instant, inviting me to deliver my lecture on "Inventions" in Rock Island, is at hand, and I regret to be unable from press of business to comply therewith. In regard to the other matter you speak of, I beg that you will not give it a further mention. Seriously, I do not think I am fit for Presidency.

It is proposed to publish his speeches.

26th. (To William A. Ross.) I would really be pleased with a publication substantially as you proposed. But I would suggest a few variations from your plan. I would not include the Republican platform; because that would give the work a one-sided party cast, unless the Democratic platform is also included.

I would not take all the speeches from the *Press-Tribune;* but I would take mine from that paper; and those of Judge Douglas from the *Chicago Times.*

My scrap book would be the best thing to print from; still, as it cost me a good deal of labor to get it up, and I am very desirous to preserve the substance of it permanently, I would not let it go out of my control. If an arrangement could be made to print it in Springfield, under my supervision, I would allow the scrap book to be used, and would claim no share in any profit that could be made out of the publication.

28th. (To William M. Morris.) Your note inviting me

to deliver a lecture at Galesburg, is received. I regret to say I can not do so now: I must stick to the courts a while. I read a sort of lecture to three different audiences during the last month and this; but I did so under circumstances which made it a waste of no time whatever.

There is gratifying evidence that in a way he has become a national figure.

April 6th. (To several gentlemen of Boston.) Your kind note inviting me to attend a festival in Boston, on the 28th instant, in honor of the birthday of Thomas Jefferson, was duly received. My engagements are such that I can not attend.

I remember being once much amused at seeing two partially intoxicated men engaged in a fight with their great overcoats on, which fight, after a long and rather harmless contest, ended in each having fought himself out of his own coat and into that of the other. If the two leading parties of this day are really identical with the two in the days of Jefferson and Adams, they have performed the same feat as the two drunken men.

But soberly, it is now no child's play to save the principles of Jefferson from total overthrow in this nation.

The principles of Jefferson are the definitions and axioms of free society. And yet they are denied and evaded, with no small show of success. One dashingly calls them "glittering generalities." Another bluntly calls them "self-evident lies." And others insidiously argue that they apply to "superior races." These expressions, differing in form, are identical in object and effect—the supplanting the principles of free government, and restoring those of classification, caste, and legitimacy. They would delight a convocation of crowned heads plotting against the people. They are the vanguard, the

miners and the sappers of returning despotism. We must repulse them or they will subjugate us. This is a world of compensation; and he who would be no slave must consent to have no slave. Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and, under a just God, can not long retain it. All honor to Jefferson—to the man who, in the concrete pressure of a struggle for national independence by a single people, had the coolness, forecast, and capacity to introduce into a merely revolutionary document an abstract truth, applicable to all men and all times, and so to embalm it there that to-day and in all coming days it shall be a rebuke and a stumbling-block to the very harbingers of reappearing tyranny and oppression.

As a detail of the approaching political campaign Republican managers take thought of the German vote in Illinois.

11th. Springfield.

(To Gustave Koerner.) The meeting of the Central Committee was at Bloomington, and not here. I was there attending court, and, in common with several other outsiders, one of whom was Judge Trumbull, was in conference with the Committee, to some extent. Judge Trumbull privately mentioned the subject of which you wrote to me, and requested me to prepare a resolution, which I did. When I brought in the resolution and read it to the Committee, and others present, in an informal way, Judge Trumbull suggested that it would be better to select some act of our adversaries, rather than of our friends, upon which to base a protest against any distinction between native and naturalized citizens, as to the right of suffrage. This led to a little parley. I was called from the room, the thing passed from my mind, and I do not know whether anything was done about it by the Committee. Judge Trumbull will be in Belleville when this reaches you, and he probably can tell you all about it. Whether anything was done

or not, something must be, the next time the Committee meets, which I presume will be before long.

An obscure political movement is working quietly out of sight of the public. T. J. Pickett, a newspaper editor, writes to Lincoln: "I would like to have a talk with you on political matters as to announcing your name for the Presidency. My partner and myself are about addressing the Republican editors of the State on the subject of a simultaneous announcement."

16th. (To T. J. Pickett.) I must in candor say I do not think myself fit for Presidency. I certainly am flattered and gratified that some partial friends think of me in that connection; but I really think it best for our cause that no concerted effort, as you suggest, should be made. Let this be considered confidential.

May 17th. (To Theodore Canisius.) Your note asking, in behalf of yourself and other German citizens, whether I am for or against the constitutional provision in regard to naturalized citizens, lately adopted by Massachusetts, and whether I am for or against a fusion of the Republicans, and other opposition elements, for the canvass of 1860, is received.

Massachusetts is a sovereign and independent State; and it is no privilege of mine to scold her for what she does. Still, if from what she has done an inference is sought to be drawn as to what I would do, I may without impropriety speak out. I say, then, I am against its adoption in Illinois, or any place where I have a right to oppose it. Understanding the spirit of our institutions to aim at the elevation of men I am opposed to whatever tends to degrade them. I have some little notoriety for commiserating the oppressed condition of the negro; and I should be strangely inconsistent if I could favor any project for curtailing the existing rights of white men, even though

born in different lands and speaking different languages from myself. As a matter of fusion, I am for it if it can be had on Republican grounds; and I am not for it on any other terms.

30th. Purchases Illinois Staats Anzeiger and contracts with Theodore Canisius to edit it as a Republican organ. The purchase is effected by a confidential arrangement and is not made public.

He has letters of consultation from national leaders attesting his growth in importance.

June 20th. (To S. P. Chase.) Yours of the 13th instant is received. You say you would be glad to have my views. Although I think Congress has Constitutional authority to enact a fugitive slave law, I have never elaborated an opinion on the subject. My view has been, ever is, simply this: The U. S. Constitution says the fugitive slave *"shall be delivered up"* but it does not expressly say *who* shall deliver him up. Whatever the Constitution says *"shall be done"* and has omitted saying who shall do it, the government established by that Constitution, *ex vi termini,* is vested with the power of doing; and Congress is, by the Constitution, expressly empowered to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution all powers vested by the Constitution in the government of the United States. This would be my view, on a simple reading of the Constitution; and it is greatly strengthened by the historical fact that the Constituition was adopted, in great part, in order to get a government which could execute its own behests, in contradistinction to that under the Articles of Confederation, which depended in many respects upon the States for its execution; and the other fact that one of the earliest Congresses under the Constitution, did enact a Fugitive Slave law.

But I do not write you on this subject, with any view of discussing the Constitutional question. My only object was to impress you with what I believe is true, that the introduction of a proposition for repeal of the Fugitive Law into the next Republican National convention will explode the convention and the party. Having turned your attention to this point, I wish to do no more.

23rd. From the passage of the Nebraska bill up to date, the Southern opposition have constantly sought to gain an advantage over the rotten democracy, by running ahead of them in the extreme opposition to, and vilification and misrepresentation of black republicans. It will be a good deal, if we fail to remember this in malice, (as I hope we shall fail to remember it); but it is altogether too much to ask us to stand with them on the platform which has proven altogether insufficient to sustain them alone. If the rotten democracy shall be beaten in 1860, it has to be done by the North, no human invention can deprive them of the South. I do not deny that there are as good men in the South as the North; and I guess we will elect one of them if he will allow us to do so on Republican ground. I think there can be no other ground of union. For my single self I would be willing to risk some Southern man without a platform; but I am satisfied that is not the case with the Republican party generally.

His political insight perceives the internal dangers of his party.

July 6th. (To Schuyler Colfax.) Besides a strong desire to make your personal acquaintance, I was anxious to speak with you on politics a little more fully than I can well do in a letter.

My main object in such conversation would be to hedge against divisions in the Republican ranks generally, and par-

ticularly for the contest of 1860. The point of danger is the temptation in different localities to "platform" for something which will be popular there, but which, nevertheless, will be a brand elsewhere, and especially in a national convention. As instances, the movement against foreigners in Massachusetts; in New Hampshire, to make obedience to the Fugitive Slave law punishable as a crime; in Ohio, to repeal the Fugitive Slave law; and squatter sovereignty in Kansas. In these things there is explosive enough to blow up half a dozen national conventions, if it gets into them; and what gets very rife outside of conventions is very likely to find its way into them. What is desirable, if possible, is that in every local convocation of Republicans a point should be made to avoid everything which will disturb Republicans elsewhere. Massachusetts Republicans should have looked beyond their noses, and then they could not have failed to see that tilting against foreigners would ruin us in the whole Northwest. New Hampshire and Ohio should forbear tilting against the Fugitive Slave law in such a way as to utterly overwhelm us in Illinois with the charges of enmity to the Constitution itself. Kansas, in her confidence that she can be saved to freedom on "Squatter sovereignty," ought not to forget that to prevent the spread and nationalization of slavery is a national concern, and must be attended to by the nation.

Still the subterranean movement to nominate him for the presidency goes on.

28th. (To Samuel Galloway.) Two things done by the Ohio Republican convention—the repudiation of Judge Swan, and the "plank" for a repeal of the Fugitive Slave law—I very much regretted. These two things are of a piece; and they are viewed by many good men, sincerely opposed to slavery, as a struggle against, and in disregard of, the Constitution itself.

And it is the very thing which will greatly endanger our cause, if it is not kept out of our national convention.

I must say that I do not think myself fit for the presidency.

His form of politics does not pay and his range of political activity is limited by his poverty.

August 6th. It is bad to be poor. I shall go to the wall for bread and meat, if I neglect my business this year as well as last. It would please me much to see the City and good people of Keokuk, but for this year it is little less than an impossibility. I am constantly receiving invitations which I am compelled to decline. I was pressingly urged to go to Minnesota; and I now have two invitations to go to Ohio. These last are prompted by Douglas going there; and I am really tempted to make a flying trip to Columbus and Cincinnati.

September 6th. (To Peter Zinn.) Yours of the 2nd in relation to my appearing at Cincinnati in behalf of the Opposition is received. I already had a similar letter from Mr. W. J. Bascom, Secretary of the Republican State Central Committee at Columbus, which I answer to-day. You are in correspondence with him, and will learn all from him. I shall try to speak at Columbus and Cincinnati, but can not do more.

He makes the promised journey to Ohio.

17th. At Cincinnati.

This is the first time in my life that I have appeared before an audience in so great a city as this. I therefore—though I am no longer a young man—make this appearance under some degree of embarrassment. But I have found that when one is embarrassed, usually the shortest way to get through with it is to quit talking or thinking about it, and go at something else.

Labor is the great source from which nearly all, if not all, human comforts and necessities are drawn. There is a difference in opinion about the elements of labor in society. Some men assume that there is a necessary connection between capital and labor, and that connection draws within it the whole of the labor of the community.

They assume that nobody works unless capital excites them to work. They begin next to consider what is the best way. They say there are but two ways; one is to hire men and to allure them to labor by their consent; the other is to buy the men and to drive them to it; and that is slavery. Having assumed that, they proceed to discuss the question of whether the laborers themselves are better off in the condition of slaves or of hired laborers, and they usually decide that they are better off in the condition of slaves.

In the first place, I say that the whole thing is a mistake. That there is a certain relation between capital and labor, I admit. That it does exist, and rightfully exists, I think is true. That men who are industrious and sober and honest in the pursuit of their own interests should after a while accumulate capital, and after that should be allowed to enjoy it in peace, and also if they choose, when they have accumulated it, to use it to save themselves from actual labor and hire other people to labor for them, is right. In doing so, they do not wrong the man they employ, for they find men who have not their own land to work upon, or shops to work in, and who are benefited by working for others—hired laborers, receiving their capital for it. Thus a few men that own capital hire others, and these establish the relation of capital and labor rightfully—a relation of which I make no complaint.

30th. Delivers the Annual Address before the Wisconsin State Agricultural Society at Milwaukee.

October 11th. I was an old Henry Clay-Tariff Whig. In old days I made more speeches on that subject than any other. I have not since changed my views. I believe yet, if we could have a moderate, carefully adjusted, protective tariff, so far acquiesced in as not to be a perpetual subject of political strife, squabbles, changes, and uncertainties, it would be better for us. Still it is my opinion that just now the revival of that question will *not advance the cause itself, or the man who revives it.*

I have not thought much on the subject recently, but my general impression is that the necessity for a protective tariff will ere long force its old opponents to take it up; and then its old friends can join in and establish it on a more firm and durable basis.

17th. (To Mark W. Delahay.) As to the pecuniary matter, about which you formerly wrote me, I again appealed to our friend Turner by letter, but he never answered. I can but repeat to you that I am so pressed myself, as to be unable to assist you, unless I could get it from him.

Though his silent friends are still hoping to bring about his nomination, he still refrains from committing himself.

November 1st. For my single self, I have enlisted for the permanent success of the Republican cause; and for this object I shall labor faithfully in the ranks, unless, as I think not probable, the judgment of the party shall assign me a different position.

December. A speech-making trip in Kansas is a great popular success. Arguments of the Douglas debates are effectually used again.

9th. (To N. B. Judd.) I do not understand Trumbull and myself to be rivals. I am pledged to not enter a struggle

with him for the seat of the Senate now occupied by him; and yet I would rather have a full term in the Senate than in the Presidency.

19th. (To G. M. Parsons and Others.) Your letter of the 7th instant, accompanied by a similar one from the governor-elect, the Republican State officers, and the Republican members of the State Board of Equalization of Ohio, both requesting of me, for publication in permanent form, copies of the political debates between Senator Douglas and myself last year, has been received. With my grateful acknowledgments to both you and them for the very flattering terms in which the request is communicated, I transmit you the copies.

As evidence of the growth of his silent "boom," his friends obtain from him the earliest sketch of his life.

20th. (To J. W. Fell.) Herewith is a little sketch, as you requested. There is not much of it, for the reason, I suppose, that there is not much of me. If anything be made out of it, I wish it to be modest, and not to go beyond the material. If it were thought necessary to incorporate anything from any of my speeches, I suppose there would be no objection. Of course it must not appear to have been written by myself.

If any personal description of me is thought desirable, it may be said that I am, in height, six feet four inches, nearly; lean in flesh, weighing on an average one hundred and eighty pounds; dark complexion, with coarse black hair and grey eyes. no other marks or brands recollected.*

22nd. The Union we intend to keep, and loyal states will not let disloyal ones break it. Its constitution and laws made in pursuance thereof must and shall remain, "the supreme law

*The entries in this record which cover his early years are drawn in part from the sketch of himself prepared for Fell. Others are from a fuller sketch prepared in 1860.

of the land." The enforcement of what laws? If they are those which give the use of jails and domestic police for masters seeking "fugitives from labor" that means war in the North. No law is stronger than is the public sentiment where it is to be enforced. Free speech and immunity from the whip and tar and feathers, seem implied by the guarantee of each state of "a republican form of government." Try Henry Clay's "gradual emancipation" scheme now in Kentucky, or to circulate W. L. Garrison's *Liberator* where most men are salivated by the excessive use of the Charleston *Mercury*. Father told a story of a man in your parts required to give a warrantee bill of sale with a horse. He wrote, "I warrant him sound in skin and skeleton and without faults or faculties." That is more than I can say of an unmeaning platform. Compromises of principles break of their own weight.

Old John Brown has been executed for treason against a State.*

We Republicans can not object, even though he agreed with us in thinking slavery wrong. That can not excuse violence, bloodshed and treason. It could avail him nothing that he might think himself right. So, if we constitutionally elect a President, and therefore you, Democrats, undertake to destroy the Union, it will be our duty to deal with you as old John Brown has been dealt with. We shall try to do our duty. We hope and believe that in no section will a majority so act as to render such extreme measures necessary.

*December 2nd, 1859.

1860

January 19th. (To Alexander H. Stephens.) Your letter and one from Honorable J. J. Crittenden, reached me at the same time. He wants a new party on the platform of "The Union, the Constitution and the Enforcement of Laws,"—not construed. You from your retirement at *Liberty Hall* complain of the bad faith of many in the Free States who refuse to return fugitives from labor, as agreed in the compromise of 1850, 1854; but I infer that you agree with Judge Douglas that the territories are to be left to "form and regulate their own domestic institutions subject only to the Constitution of the United States."

When we were both members of the Young-Indian Club in Washington,* you then argued for paramount state Sovereignty going very nearly to the extreme of state *nullification* of Federal laws with John C. Calhoun; and of secession at will with Robert Toombs. The Colonies were subject up to July 4, 1776, and had no recognized independence until they won it in 1783; but the only time they ever had the shadows of separate sovereignty was in the two years before they were compelled to the articles of Confederation July 9, 1778. They fought England for seven years for the right to club together but when were they independent of each other? Let me say right here that only unanimous consent of all the States can dissolve this Union. We shall not secede and you shall not. Let me show you what I think of the reserved rights of the states as declared in the articles of Confederation and in the

*When Lincoln was a member of Congress.

Constitution and so-called Jeffersonian amendments; suppose that I sold a farm here in Illinois with all and singular the rights, members and appurtenances to the same in any wise belonging or appertaining, signed, sealed, and delivered: I have now sold my land. Will it at all change the contract if I go to the clerk's office and add a post script to the record; that all rights not therein conveyed I reserve to myself and my children? The colonies, by the Declaration of July 4, 1776, did not get nationality, for they were leagued to fight for it. By the articles of Confederation of July 9, 1778, under stress and peril of failure without union, a government was created to which the states ceded certain powers of nationality, especially in the command of the army and navy, as yet supported by the states.

Three years later Virginia led the states in urging concessions of power, and then by twelve states—Rhode Island objecting—was framed our original Constitution of 1787, fully three and a half years after the peace that sealed our United National Independence. No loop hole left for nullification, and none for secession—because the right of peaceable assembly and of petition and by the Article Fifth of the Constitution, the right of amendment is the Constitutional substitute for revolution. Here is our *Magna Charta* not *wrested* by Barons from King John, but the free gift of the states to the nation they create and in the very amendments harped upon by states rights men are proposed by Federal congress and approved by Presidents, to make the liberties of the Republic of the West forever sure. All of the States' Rights which they wished to retain are now and forever retained in the Union, including slavery, and so I have sworn loyalty to this constitutional Union, and for it let me live or let me die.

I am not in favor of a party of Union, Constitution and Law to suit Mr. Bell or Mr. Everett and be construed variously in as many sections as there are states.

February. Requested by letter to speak in Mr. Beecher's church in Brooklyn. He accepts the invitation.

By this time his friends have gone so far in working up the confidential movement for his nomination that he decides to let their course determine his own.

9th. (To N. B. Judd.) I am not in a position where it would mean much for me not to be nominated on the national ticket; but I am where it would hurt some for me to not get the Illinois delegates. What I expected when I wrote the letter to Messrs. Dole and others is now happening. Your discomfited assailants are most bitter against me; and they will, for revenge upon me, lay to the Bates egg in the South, and to the Seward egg in the North, and go far toward squeezing me out in the middle with nothing. Can you not help me a little in this matter in your end of the vineyard? I mean this to be private.

13th. I am engaged to be in Brooklyn the evening of the 29th.

Plan for an address at Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, changed; address to be given at Cooper Institute, New York, under the auspices of the Young Men's Central Republican Union.

25th. New York.

(On arrival at the offices of the Editor of the *Independent,* who had promoted the Cooper Institute meeting.)

Is this Mr. Henry C. Bowen? (Mr. Bowen, rather curtly,—Yes.) I am Abraham Lincoln. Mr. Bowen, I am just in from Springfield, Illinois, and I am very tired. If you have no objection I will lie down on your lounge here and you can tell me about the arrangements for Monday night.

26th. (After hearing Beecher preach.) Mr. Bowen, you

will have to excuse me from dining with you. I would very much enjoy meeting you and your friends at dinner, but, as a matter of fact, I have not fully prepared the speech that I am to deliver Monday night. I must go over to the Astor House and work on it.

27th. At Cooper Union he is escorted to the platform by Horace Greeley and David Dudley Field. William Cullen Bryant introduces him. He makes a deep impression on a very influential audience. Besides skilfully formulating the general Republican position, he boldly passes judgment on the recent episode of John Brown with which at the moment the whole country is ringing.

(At Cooper Institute.) Now, and here, let me guard a little against being misunderstood. I do not mean to say we are bound to follow implicitly in whatever our fathers did. To do so would be to distract all the lights of current experience—to reject all progress—all improvement. What I do say is, that, if we should supplant the opinions and policy of our fathers in any case, we should do so on evidence so conclusive, and argument so clear, that even their great authority, fairly considered and weighed, can not stand; and most surely not in a case whereof we ourselves declare they understood the question better than we.

And now, if they would listen—as I suppose they will not—I would address a few words to the Southern people.

You charge that we stir up insurrections among your slaves. We deny it. And what is your proof? Harper's Ferry? John Brown? John Brown was no Republican; and you have failed to implicate a single Republican in his Harper's Ferry enterprise. If any member of our party is guilty in that matter, you know it, or you do not know it. If you do know it, you are inexcusable for not designating the man and proving

the fact. If you do not know it, you are inexcusable for asserting it, and especially for persisting in the assertion after you have tried and failed to make the proof.

John Brown's effort was peculiar. It was not a slave insurrection. It was an attempt by white men to get up a revolt among slaves, in which the slaves refused to participate. In fact, it was so absurd that the slaves, with all their ignorance, saw plainly enough it could not succeed. That affair, in its philosophy, corresponds with the many attempts, related in history, at the assassination of kings and emperors. An enthusiast broods over the oppression of a people till he fancies himself commissioned by Heaven to liberate them. He ventures the attempt, which ends in little less than his own execution. Orsini's attempt on Louis Napoleon, and John Brown's attempt at Harper's Ferry, were, in their philosophy, precisely the same. The eagerness to cast blame on old England in the one case, and on New England in the other, does not disprove the sameness of the two things.

March. Left for New Hampshire where I have a son in school.

6th. At New Haven, Connecticut.

Whenever this question shall be settled, it must be settled on some philosophical basis. No policy that does not rest on philosophical public opinion can be permanently maintained. And hence there are but two policies in regard to slavery that can be at all maintained. The first, based on the property view that slavery is right, conforms to that idea throughout, and demands that we shall do everything for it that we ought to do if it were right. We must sweep away all opposition, for opposition to the right is wrong; we must agree that slavery is right, and we must adopt the idea that property has persuaded the owner to believe that slavery is morally right and socially elevating. This gives a philosophical basis for a permanent policy of encouragement.

The other policy is one that squares with the idea that slavery is wrong, and it consists in doing everything that we ought to do if it is wrong. Now I don't wish to be misunderstood, nor to leave a gap down to be misrepresented, even. I don't mean that we ought to attack it where it exists. To me it seems that if we were to form a government anew, in view of the actual presence of slavery we should find it necessary to frame just such a government as our fathers did—giving to the slave-holder the entire control where the system was established, while we possess the power to restrain it from going outside those limits. From the necessities of the case we should be compelled to form just such a government as our blessed fathers gave us; and surely if they have so made it, that adds another reason why we should let slavery alone where it exists.

Returns home through New York from New England.

16th. (To Mark W. Delahay.) As to your kind wishes for myself, allow me to say I can not enter the ring on the money basis—first, because in the main it is wrong, and secondly, I have not and can not get the money. I say, in the main, the use of money is wrong; but for certain objects in a political contest, the use of some is both right and indispensable. With me, as with yourself, the long struggle has been one of pecuniary loss.

I now distinctly say this: if you shall be appointed a delegate to Chicago, I will furnish one hundred dollars to bear the expenses of the trip.

(To Lyman Trumbull.) Our friend Delahay wants to be one of the Senators from Kansas. Certainly it is not for outsiders to obtrude their interference. Delahay has suffered a great deal in our cause, and been very faithful to it, as I understand. He writes me that some of the members of the Kansas

Legislature have written you in a way that your simple answer might help him. I wish you would consider whether you can not assist him that far, without impropriety. I know it is a delicate matter and I do not wish to press you beyond your own judgment.

24th. Chicago.

(To Samuel Galloway.) I am here attending a trial in court. Before leaving home I received your kind letter of the 15th. Of course I am gratified to know that I have friends in Ohio who are disposed to give me the highest evidence of their friendship and confidence. Mr. Parrot, of the Legislature, had written me to the same effect. If I have any chance, it consists mainly in the fact that the whole opposition would vote for me, if nominated. (I don't mean to include the pro-slavery opposition of the South, of course). My name is new in the field, and I suppose I am not the first choice of a very great many. Our policy, then, is to give no offense to others—leave them in a mood to come to us if they shall be compelled to give up their first love. This, too, is dealing justly with all, and leaving us in a mood to support heartily whoever shall be nominated. I believe that I have once before told you that I wish especially to do no ungenerous thing toward Governor Chase, because he gave us his sympathy in 1858 when scarcely any other distinguished man did. Whatever you may do for me, consistently with these suggestions, will be appreciated and gratefully remembered.

With the great event of his life impending he keeps patiently at his professional duties.

26th. Chicago.

(To Ward H. Lamon.) Yours about notions to quash the indictment was received yesterday. I think I had no authority but the statute when I wrote the indictment—in fact I remember but a little about it. I think yet there is no necessity for

setting out the letter *in haec verba*. Our statute as I think releases the high degree of technical certainty formerly required.

I am so busy with our cause on trial here that I can not examine authorities here as fully as you can there. If after all the indictment shall be quashed it will prove that my forte is as a statesman rather than a prosecutor.

April 6th. Springfield.

(To R. M. Corwine.) Reaching home after an absence of more than two weeks, I found your letter of the 24th of March. Remembering that when a not very great man begins to be mentioned for a very great position, his head is very likely to be a little turned, I conclude I am not the fittest person to answer the questions you ask. Making due allowance for this, I think Mr. Seward is the very best candidate we could have for the North of Illinois, and the very *worst* for the South of it. The estimate of Governor Chase here is neither better nor worse than that of Seward, except that he is a newer man. They are regarded as being almost the same, seniority gives Seward the inside track. Mr. Bates, I think, would be the best man for the South of our State, and the worst for the North of it. If Judge McLean was fifteen or even ten years younger, I think he would be stronger than either, in our State, taken as a whole; but his great age, and the recollections of the deaths of Harrison and Taylor have, so far, prevented his being much spoken of.

I really believe we can carry the State for either of them, or for any one who may be nominated; but doubtless it would be easier to do it with some than with others.

I feel myself disqualified to speak of myself in this matter. I feel this letter will be of little value to you; but I can make it no better, under the circumstances. Let it be strictly confidential, not that there is any thing really objectionable in it, but because it might be misconstrued.

(To C. F. McNeil.) Reaching home yesterday, I found

yours of the 23rd March, inclosing a slip from the *Middleport Press*. It is not true that I ever charged anything for a political speech in my life; but this much is true. Last October I was requested by letter to deliver some sort of speech in Mr. Beecher's church, in Brooklyn, $200 being offered in the first letter. I wrote that I could do it in February, provided they would take a political speech if I could find time to get up no other. They agreed; and subsequently I informed them the speech would have to be a political one. When I reached New York, I, for the first time learned that the place was changed to "Cooper's Institute." I made the speech, and left for New Hampshire, where I had a son in school, neither asking for pay, nor having any offered me. Three days after, a check for $200 was sent to me at N. H.; and I took it, *and did not know it was wrong*. My understanding now is—though I knew nothing of it at the time,—that they did charge for admittance to the Cooper Institute, and they took in more than twice $200.

I have made this explanation to you as a friend; but I wish no explanation made to our enemies. What they want is a squabble and a fuss; and that they can have if we explain; and they can not have it if we don't.

When I returned through New York from New England, I was told by the gentleman who sent me the check that a drunken vagabond in the club, having learned something about the $200, made the exhibition out of which *The Herald* manufactured the article quoted by the *Press* of your town.

My judgment is, and therefore my request is, that you give no denial, and no explanations.

14th. (To Delahay.) You know I was in New England. Some of the acquaintances I made while there write to me since the election that the close vote in Connecticut and the *quasi* defeat in R. I. are a drawback upon the prospects of Governor Seward; and Trumbull writes Dubois to the same effect.

Do not mention this as coming from me. Both those States are safe enough for us in the fall. I see by the despatches that since you wrote Kansas has appointed delegates and instructed them for Seward. Do not stir them up to anger, but come along to the convention, and I will do as I said about the expenses.

29th. (To Lyman Trumbull.) As you requested, I will be entirely frank. The taste *is* in my mouth a little; and this, no doubt, disqualifies me, to some extent, to form correct opinions. You may confidently rely, however, that by no advice or consent of mine, shall my pretensions be pressed, to the point of endangering our common cause.

A word now for your own special benefit. You better write no letters which can possibly be distorted into opposition, or *quasi* opposition to me. There are men on the constant watch for such things out of which to prejudice my peculiar friends against you.

While I have no more suspicion of you than of my best friend living, I am kept in a constant struggle against suggestions of this sort. I have hesitated some to write this paragraph, lest you should suspect I do it for my own benefit, and not for yours; but on reflection I conclude you will not suspect me.

Let no eye but your own see this—not that there is anything wrong, or even ungenerous, in it; but it would be misconstrued.

May 2nd. (To James Grant Wilson.) I am greatly obliged for the volume of your friend Fitz Green Halleck's poems. Many a month has passed since I have met with anything more admirable than his lines on Burns. With Alnwick Castle, Marco Bozzaris, and Red Jacket, I am also much pleased.

It is wonderful that you should have seen and known a sister of Robert Burns. You must tell me something about her when we meet again.

(To R. M. Corwine.) I think the Illinois delegation will be unanimous for me at the start; but may be restrained by their colleagues. It is represented to me by men who ought to know, that the whole of Indiana might not be difficult to get. You know how it is in Ohio. I am certainly not the first choice there; and yet I have not heard that any one makes any positive objection to me. It is just so everywhere as far as I can perceive. Everywhere, except here in Illinois and possibly in Indiana, one or another is preferred to me, but there is no positive objection.

Attends the Republican State Convention which endorses him as the Illinois candidate for the Presidency. His friends exhibit fence rails which are said to have been made by him long before when a farm laborer, a "rail splitter."

9th. (To the Republican Convention.)' Gentlemen, I suppose you want to know something about those things [pointing to old John and the rails]. Well, the truth is, John Hanks and I did make rails in the Sangamon Bottom. I don't know whether we made those rails or not; the fact is, I don't think they are a credit to the makers [laughing as he spoke]. But I do know this: I made rails then, and I think I could make better ones than these now.

18th. Nominated for President by the Republican Convention at Chicago on the third ballot through a combination of several minor groups against a major group that supported Seward.

(After receiving news of the first ballot in the convention.) The despatches seem to be coming to the *Journal* office, by arrangement, I presume; we had better go over there. (On receiving the telegram announcing his nomination.) I felt

sure this would come when I saw the second ballot. (In reply to the immediate suggestion that a life of him should be written.) My friend, I do not see much in my life yet to write about. (As he makes his way through a crowd of congratulatory friends.) There is a lady over yonder on Eighth Street who is deeply interested in this news; I will carry it to her.

21st. (Reply to the Committee sent by the Chicago Convention to inform him of his nomination for President.) *Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee:* I tender to you, and through you to the Republican National Convention, and all the people represented in it, my profoundest thanks for the high honor done me, which you now formally announce. Deeply and even painfully sensible of the great responsibility which is inseparable from this high honor—a responsibility which I could almost wish had fallen upon some one of the far more eminent men and experienced statesmen whose distinguished names were before the Convention—I shall, by your leave, consider more fully the resolutions of the Convention, denominated the platform, and, without any unnecessary and unreasonable delay, respond to you, Mr. Chairman, in writing, not doubting that the platform will be found satisfactory, and the nomination gratefully accepted. And now I will no longer defer the pleasure of taking you, and each of you, by the hand.

26th. (To S. P. Chase.) It gave me great pleasure to receive yours, mistakenly dated May 17. Holding myself the humblest of all whose names were before the convention, I feel in especial need of the assistance of all; and I am glad—very glad—of the indication that you stand ready. It is a great consolation that so nearly all—all except Mr. Bates and Mr. Clay, I believe—of those distinguished and able men are already in high position to do service in the common cause.

(To C. B. Smith.) Yours of the 21st was duly received; but I have found no time until now, to say a word in the way of answer. I am, indeed, much indebted to Indiana; and, as

my home friends tell me, much to you personally. Your saying you no longer consider Iowa a doubtful State is very gratifying. The thing starts well everywhere—too well, I almost fear, to last. But we are in, and stick or go through, must be the word.

31st. (To Charles C. Nott.) Yours of the 23rd accompanied by a copy of the speech delivered by me at the Cooper Institute, and upon which you make some notes for emendations, was received some days ago. Of course I would not object to, but would be pleased rather, with a more perfect edition of that speech.

I did not preserve memoranda of my investigations; and I could not now reexamine, and make notes, without an expenditure of time which I can not put on it. Some of your notes I do not understand.

So far as it is intended merely to improve in grammar and elegance of composition, I am quite agreed; but I do not wish the sense changed, or modified, to a hair's breadth.

June 5th. (To Trumbull.) I see by the papers this morning, that Mr. Fillmore refuses to go with us. What do the New Yorkers at Washington think of this? Governor Reeder was here last evening direct from Pennsylvania. He is entirely confident of that State, and of the general result. I do not remember to have heard General Cameron's opinion of Pennsylvania. Weed was here and saw me; but he showed no signs whatever of the intriguer. He asked for nothing; and said New York is safe, without condition.

Remembering that Peter denied his Lord with an oath, after most solemnly protesting that he never would, I will not swear that I will make no committals; but I do think I will not.

28th. (To William Cullen Bryant.) Please accept my thanks for the honor done me in your letter of the 16th. I appreciate the danger against which you would guard me; nor am I wanting in the *purpose* to avoid it. I thank you for the additional strength your words give me to maintain that purpose.

July 4th. (To A. G. Henry.) Our boy, in his tenth year, (the baby when you left), has just had a hard and tedious spell of scarlet fever, and he is not yet beyond all danger. I have a headache and a sore throat upon me now, inducing me to suspect that I have an inferior type of the same thing.

Our eldest boy, Bob, has been away from us nearly a year at school, and will enter Harvard University this month. He promises very well, considering we never controlled him much.

18th. (To Hannibal Hamlin.) It appears to me that you and I ought to be acquainted, and accordingly I write this as a sort of introduction of myself to you. You first entered the Senate during the single term I was a member of the House of Representatives, but I have no recollection that we were introduced. I shall be pleased to receive a line from you.

The prospect of the Republican success now appears very flattering, so far as I can perceive. Do you see anything to the contrary?

21st. (To A. Jonas.) I suppose that as good or even better men than I may have been in American or Know-Nothing lodges; but, in point of fact, I never was in one, in Quincy or elsewhere. I was never in Quincy but one day and two nights while Know-Nothing lodges were in existence, and you were with me that day and both those nights. I had never been there before in my life, and never afterward, till the joint debate with Douglas in 1858. It was in 1854 when I spoke in some hall there, and after the speaking, you, with others, took me to an oyster-saloon, passed an hour there, and you walked with me to, and parted with me at the Quincy House, quite late at night. I left by stage for Naples before daylight in the morning, having come in by the same route after dark the evening previous to the speaking, when I found you waiting at the Quincy House to meet me.

And now a word of caution. Our adversaries think they can gain a point if they could force me to openly deny the

charge, by which some degree of offense would be given to the Americans. For this reason it must not publicly appear that I am paying any attention to the charge.

30th. (To Thomas Doney.) The picture (I know not the artistic designation) was duly and thankfully received. I consider it a very excellent one; though, truth to say, I am a very indifferent judge.

August 15th. (To John B. Fry.) Yours of the 9th, enclosing the letter of Honorable John Minor Botts, was duly received. The latter is herewith returned, according to your request. It contains one of the many assurances I receive from the South, that in no probable event will there be any formidable effort to break up the Union. The people of the South have too much of good sense and good temper to attempt the ruin of the government rather than see it administered as it was administered by the men who made it. At least, so I hope and believe.

17th. Douglas is managing the Bell element with great adroitness. He has his men in Kentucky to vote for the Bell candidate, producing a result which has badly alarmed and damaged Breckenridge, and at the same time has induced the Bell men to suppose that Bell will certainly be President if they can keep a few of the Northern States away from us by throwing them to Douglas.

September 22nd. (To Mrs. M. J. Green.) Your kind congratulatory letter of August was received in due course, and should have been answered sooner. The truth is I have never corresponded much with ladies; and hence I postpone writing letters to them, as a business which I do not understand. I can only say now I thank you for the good opinion you express of me, fearing, at the same time, I may not be able to maintain it through life.

28th. (To Professor Gardner.) Some specimens of your soap have been used at our house and Mrs. L. declares it is a

superior article. She at the same time protests that *I* have never given sufficient attention to the "soap question" to be a competent judge.

October 19th. (To Miss Grace Bedell.) Your very agreeable letter of the 15th is received. I regret the necessity of saying I have no daughter. I have three sons—one seventeen, one nine, and one seven. They with their mother constitute my whole family. As to the whiskers, having never worn any, do you not think people would call it a piece of silly affectation if I were to begin now?

23rd. (To David Turnham.) Your kind letter of the 7th is received. I am very glad to learn you are still living and well. I well remember when you and I last met, after a separation of fourteen years, at the cross-road voting place in the fall of 1844. It is now sixteen years more and we are both no longer young men. I suppose you are a grandfather; and I, though married much later in life, have a son nearly grown.

I would like much to visit the old home, and old friends of my boyhood, but I fear the chance of doing so is not very good.

24th. (To J. C. Lee.) I never gave fifty dollars, nor one dollar, nor one cent, for the object you mention, or any such object.

I once *subscribed* twenty-five dollars, to be paid whenever Judge Logan would decide it was necessary to enable the people of Kansas to defend themselves against any force coming against them from without the Territory, and not by authority of the United States. Logan never made the decision, and I never paid a dollar on the subscription. The whole of this can be seen in the files of the *Illinois Journal,* since the first of June last.

26th. (To Major David Hunter.) I have another letter from a writer unknown to me, saying the officers of the army

at Fort Kearney have determined, in case of Republican success at the approaching presidential election, to take themselves, and the arms at that point, South, for the purpose of resistance to the government. While I think there are many chances to one that this is a humbug, it occurs to me that any real movement of this sort in the army would leak out and become known to you. In such case, if it would not be unprofessional or dishonorable (of which you are to be the judge), I shall be much obliged if you will apprise me of it.

November 6th. Elected President.

7th. It was just after my election in 1860, when the news had been coming in thick and fast all day and there had been a great "hurrah boys," so that I was well tired out and went home to rest, throwing myself down on a lounge in my chamber. Opposite where I lay was a bureau with a swinging glass upon it, and looking in that glass, I saw myself reflected almost at full length; but my face, I noticed, had two separate and distinct images, the tip of the nose of one being about three inches from the tip of the other. I was a little bothered, perhaps startled, and got up and looked in the glass, but the illusion vanished. On lying down again, I saw it a second time, plainer, if possible, than before; and then I noticed that one of the faces was a little paler—say, five shades—than the other. I got up, and the thing melted away, and I went off, and in the excitement of the hour I forgot about it—nearly, but not quite, for the thing would once in a while come up, and give me a little pang, as if something uncomfortable had happened. When I went home again that night, I told my wife about it, and a few days afterward I made the experiment again, when, sure enough! the thing came again; but I never succeeded in bringing the ghost back after that, though I once tried very industriously to show it to my wife, who was some-

what worried about it. She thought it was a "sign" that I was to be elected to a second term of office, and that the paleness of one of the faces was an omen that I should not see life through the last term.

19th. (To Park Benjamin.) Your kind note of congratulation was received in due course; and you are not disappointed in the hope you express that I may set some value upon it.

That my political position, and personal history are such as to meet the unselfish approval of one possessing your high literary fame and character, is matter of sincere pride with me.

20th. (Remarks at the meeting at Springfield, Illinois, to celebrate his election.) Please excuse me on this occasion from making a speech. I thank you in common with all those who have thought fit by their votes to endorse the Republican cause. I rejoice with you in the success which has thus far attended the cause. Yet in all our rejoicings, let us neither express nor cherish any hard feelings toward any citizen who by his vote has differed with us. Let us at all times remember that all American citizens are brothers of a common country, and should dwell together in the bonds of fraternal feeling. Let me again beg you to accept my thanks, and to excuse me from further speaking at this time.

I have labored in, and for, the Republican organization with entire confidence that whenever it shall be in power, each and all of the States shall be left in as complete control of their affairs respectively, and at as perfect liberty to choose, and employ, their own means of protecting property, and preserving peace and order within their respective limits, as they have ever been under any administration. Those who have voted for Mr. Lincoln, have expected, and still expect this; and they would not have voted for him had they expected otherwise. I regard it as extremely fortunate for the peace of the whole

country, that this point, upon which the Republicans have been so long, and so persistently misrepresented, is now to be brought to a practical test, and placed beyond the possibility of doubt. Disunionists *per se,* are now in hot haste to get out of the Union, precisely because they perceive they can not, much longer, maintain apprehension among the Southern people that their homes, and firesides, and lives, are to be endangered by the action of the Federal Government. With such, *"Now or never"* is the maxim.

I am rather glad of this military preparation in the South. It will enable the people more easily to suppress any uprisings there, which their misrepresentations of purposes may have encouraged.

28th. (To Henry J. Raymond.) Yours of the 14th was received in due course. I have delayed so long to answer it, because my reason for not coming before the public in any form just now had substantially appeared in your paper (the *Times*), and hence I feared they were not deemed sufficient by you, else you would not have written me as you did. I now think we have a demonstration in favor of my view. On the 20th instant Senator Trumbull made a short speech, which I suppose you have both seen and approved. Has a single newspaper, heretofore against us, urged that speech upon its readers with a purpose to quiet public anxiety? Not one, so far as I know. On the contrary, the *Boston Courier* and its class hold me responsible for that speech, and endeavor to inflame the North with the belief that it foreshadows an abandonment of Republican ground by the incoming administration; while the Washington *Constitution* and its class hold the same speech up to the South as an open declaration of war against them. This is just as I expected, and just what would happen with any declaration I could make. These political friends are not half sick enough yet. Party malice, and not public good possesses them entirely. "They seek a sign, and no sign shall

be given them." At least such is my present feeling and purpose.

December 6th. Sells the Illinois Staats Anzeiger to Theodore Canisius.

8th. I regret exceedingly the anxiety of our friends in New York, but it seems to me that the sentiment in that state which sent a united delegation to Chicago in favor of Governor Seward ought not and must not be snubbed, as it would be by the omission to offer Gov. S. a place in the Cabinet. I *will myself take care of the question of "corrupt jobs"* and see that justice is done to all our friends as well as others.

(To W. H. Seward.) With your permission I shall at the proper time nominate you to the Senate for confirmation as Secretary of State for the United States.

(To Seward.) In addition to the accompanying and more formal note inviting you to take charge of the State Department, I deem it proper to address you this. Rumors have got into the newspapers to the effect that the Department named above would be tendered you as a compliment, and with the expectation that you would decline it. I beg you to be assured that I have said nothing to justify these rumors. On the contrary, it has been my purpose, from the day of the nomination at Chicago, to assign you, by your leave, this place in the administration. I have delayed so long to communicate that purpose in deference to what appeared to me a proper caution in the case. Nothing has been developed to change my view in the premises; and now I offer you the place in the hope that you will accept it, and, with the belief that your position in the public eye, your integrity, ability, learning, and great experience, all combine to render it an appointment preëminently fit to be made.

One word more. In regard to the patronage sought with so much eagerness and jealousy, I have prescribed for myself the maxim, "Justice to all;" and I earnestly beseech your co-operation in keeping the maxim good.

While the Republicans have been engrossed in the political campaign an agitation for an ultimatum has been carried on in the South. The opening of Congress is followed by a demand for a new compact between the sections. The Senate appoints a Committee of Thirteen to consider the matter. For a moment the Republican leaders at Washington seem inclined to fall back upon the old position of 1854 and redivide the Territories between the North and the South on the line of 36° 30′. Lincoln exerts all his influence to prevent this compromise.

11th. (To William Kellogg.) Entertain no proposition for a compromise in regard to the extension of slavery. The instant you do, they have us under again; all our labor is lost, and sooner or later must be done over. Douglas is sure to be again trying to bring in his "popular sovereignty." Have none of it. The tug has to come, and better now than later. You know I think the Fugitive Slave law of the Constitution ought to be enforced—to put it in its mildest form, ought not to be resisted.

13th. (To E. B. Washburne.) Prevent, as far as possible, any of our friends from demoralizing themselves and our cause by entertaining propositions for compromise of any sort on "slavery extension." There is no possible compromise upon it but which puts us under again, and leaves all our work to do over again. Whether it be a Missouri line or Eli Thayer's popular sovereignty, it is all the same. Let either be done, and immediately filibustering and extending slavery recommences. On that point hold firm, as with a chain of steel.

17th. (To Thurlow Weed.) Should the convocation of

governors of which you speak seem desirous to know my views on the present aspect of things, tell them you judge from my speeches that I will be inflexible on the territory question; that I probably think either the Missouri line extended, or Douglas's and Eli Thayer's popular sovereignty, would lose us everything we gain by the election; that filibustering for all south of us and making slave States of it would follow, in spite of us, in either case; also that I probably think all opposition, real and apparent, to the fugitive slave cause of the Constitution ought to be withdrawn.

I believe you can pretend to find but little, if anything, in my speeches, about secession. But my opinion is, that no State can in any way lawfully get out of the Union without the consent of the others; and that it is the duty of the President and other government functionaries to run the machine as it is.

20th. The situation is immensely complicated by the secession of South Carolina, while the Committee of Thirteen is hopelessly divided, and Lincoln stands firm for no concessions.

On this same day Thurlow Weed, whom Seward has sent to Springfield to confer with Lincoln, receives his final statement of his position in the form of a set of resolutions.

(Memorandum given to Weed.)' Resolved: The fugitive slave clause of the Constitution ought to be enforced by a law of Congress, with efficient provisions for that object, not obliging private persons to assist in its execution, and with the usual safeguards to liberty, securing free men against being surrendered as slaves.

That all State laws, if there be such, really or apparently in conflict with such law of Congress, ought to be repealed; and no opposition to the execution of such law of Congress ought to be made.

That the Federal Union must be preserved.

21st. (To Lyman Trumbull.) Thurlow Weed was with

me nearly all day yesterday, and left last night with three short resolutions which I drew up, and which, or the substance of which, I think, would do much good if introduced and unanimously supported by our friends. They do not touch the territorial question. Mr. Weed goes to Washington with them; and says he will first of all confer with you and Mr. Hamlin. I think it would be best for Mr. Seward to introduce them, and Mr. Weed will let him know that I think so. Show this to Mr. Hamlin, but beyond him do not let my name be known in the matter.

(To E. B. Washburne.) Last night I received your letter giving an account of your interview with General Scott, and for which I thank you. Please present my respects to the General, and tell him, confidentially, I shall be obliged to him to be as well prepared as he can to either hold or retake the forts, as the case may require, at and after the inauguration.

22nd. (To Alexander H. Stephens.) Your obliging answer to my short note is just received, and for which please accept my thanks. I fully appreciate the present peril the country is in, and the weight of responsibility on me. Do the people of the South really entertain fears that a Republican administration would, directly or indirectly, interfere with the slaves, or with them about the slaves? If they do, I wish to assure you, as once a friend, and still I hope not an enemy, that there is no cause for such fears. The South would be in no more danger in this respect than it was in the days of Washington. I suppose, however, this does not meet the case. You think slavery is right and ought to be extended, while we think it is wrong and ought to be restricted. That, I suppose, is the rub. It certainly is the only substantial difference between us.

24th. I expect to be able to offer Mr. Blair a place in the Cabinet; but I can not, as yet, be committed on the matter, to any extent whatever.

Despatches have come here two days in succession, that the Forts in South Carolina will be surrendered by the order, or consent at least, of the President [Buchanan].

I can scarcely believe this; but if it prove true, I will, if our friends at Washington concur, announce publicly at once that they are to be retaken after the inauguration. This will give the Union men a rallying cry, and preparation will proceed somewhat on their side, as well as on the other.

(To Hannibal Hamlin.) I need a man (in the Cabinet) of Democratic antecedents from New England. I can not get a fair share of that element in without. This stands in the way of Mr. Adams. I think of Governor Banks, Mr. Welles, and Mr. Tuck. Which of them do the New England delegation prefer? Or shall I decide for myself?

28th. Committee of Thirteen reports, in effect, that it can not devise a sectional compact which both North and South will accept. The Southern members of the Committee will not agree to anything short of a redivision of the Territories between slavery and freedom. The Republican members under Lincoln's direction refuse to concur in the establishment of any new slave Territories. Thus the compromise negotiations come to an end.

30th. South Carolina demands the withdrawal of Federal garrisons from all forts within her borders.

31st. (To Salmon P. Chase.) In these troublous times I would much like a conference with you. Please visit me here at once.

(To Simon Cameron.) I think fit to notify you now, that by your permission I shall at the proper time nominate you to the United States Senate for confirmation as Secretary of the Treasury, or as Secretary of War—which of the two I have not yet definitely decided. Please answer at your earliest convenience.

1861

January. There were stories and rumors before I left home, about people who intended to do me mischief. I never attached much importance to them—never wanted to believe any such thing about them in the way of taking precautions and the like. Some of my friends, though, thought differently—Judd and others—and without my knowledge, they employed a detective (Allan Pinkerton) to look into the matter.

(To Joseph Gillespie.) Every hour adds to the difficulties I am called upon to meet, and the present administration does nothing to check the tendency toward dissolution. I, who have been called to meet this awful responsibility, am compelled to remain here doing nothing to avert it or lessen its force when it comes to me.

Secession is being fostered rather than repressed, and if the doctrine meets with a general acceptance in the border States, it will be a great blow to the government. I suppose you will never forget that trial down in Montgomery County, where the lawyer associated with you gave away the whole case in his opening speech. I saw you signaling to him, but you couldn't stop him. Now, that's just the way with me and Buchanan. He is giving away the case, and I have nothing to say, and can't stop him.

While Lincoln is deeply distressed over the course of events at Washington which he is powerless to control, the intrigues at Springfield over Cabinet appointments drive him well nigh to distraction. He feels constrained in some cases to reconsider his first intentions.

3rd. (To Cameron.) When you were here, about the last of December, I handed you a letter saying I should at the proper time nominate you to the Senate for a place in the Cabinet. It is due to you and to truth for me to say you were here by my invitation, and not upon any suggestion of your own. You have not as yet signified to me whether you would accept the appointment, and with much pain I now say to you that you will relieve me from great embarrassment by allowing me to recall the offer. This springs from an unexpected complication, and not from any change of my view as to the ability or faithfulness with which you would discharge the duties of the place.

I now think I will not definitely fix upon any appointment for Pennsylvania until I reach Washington.

You will say this comes of an interview with McClure; and this is partly, but not wholly, true. The more potent matter is wholly outside of Pennsylvania; and yet I am not at liberty to specify it. Enough that it appears to me to be sufficient. And now I suggest that you write me declining the appointment, in which case I do not object to its being known that it was tendered you. Better do this at once, before things so change that you can not honorably decline, and I be compelled to openly recall the tender. No person living knows or has an intimation that I write this letter.

(To Seward.) I have been considering your suggestions as to my reaching Washington somewhat earlier than is usual. It seems to me the inauguration is not the most dangerous point for us. Our adversaries have us now clearly at disadvantage. On the second Wednesday of February, when the votes should be officially counted, *if* the two Houses refuse to meet at all, or meet without a quorum of each, where shall we be? I do not think that this counting is constitutionally essential to the election; but how are we to proceed in absence of it? In view of this, I think it best for me not to attempt

appearing in Washington till the result of that ceremony is known.

It certainly would be of some advantage if you could know who are to be at the heads of the War and Navy departments; but until I can ascertain definitely whether I can get any suitable men from the South, and who, and how many, I can not well decide. As yet, I have no word from Mr. Gilmer in answer to my request for an interview with him. I look for something on the subject, through you, before long.

7th. Gen. C. has not been offered the Treasury and I think he will not be. It seems to me not only highly proper but a *necessity* that Gov. Chase shall take their place. His ability, firmness, and purity of character produce this propriety; and that he alone can reconcile Mr. Bryant and his class to the appointment of Gov. C. to the State Department produces the necessity. But then comes the danger that the protectionists of Pennsylvania will be dissatisfied; and to clear this difficulty Gen. C. must be brought to co-operate. He would readily do this for the War Department. But then comes the fierce opposition to his having any Department, threatening even to send charges into the Senate to procure his rejection by that body. Now, what I would most like, and what I think he should prefer too, under the circumstances, would be to retain his place in the Senate, and if that place has been promised to another let that other take a respectable and reasonably lucrative place abroad. Also, let Gen. C.'s friends be, with entire fairness, cared for in Pennsylvania and elsewhere.

9th. Mississippi secedes.
10th. Florida secedes.

11th. (To General Winfield Scott.) I herewith beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 4th instant, inclosing (documents Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6) copies

of correspondence and notes of conversation with the President of the United States and the Secretary of War concerning various military movements suggested by yourself and the maintenance of public order.

Permit me to renew to you the assurance of my high appreciation of the many past services you have rendered the Union, and of my deep gratification at this evidence of your present active exertions to maintain the integrity and honor of the nation.

I shall be highly pleased to receive from time to time such communications from yourself as you may deem it proper to make to me.

What is your present condition? We have just carried an election on principles fairly stated to the people. Now we are told in advance the government shall be broken up unless we surrender to those we have beaten, before we take the offices. In this they are either attempting to play upon us or they are in dead earnest. Either way, if we surrender, it is the end of us and of the government. They will repeat the experiment upon us *ad libitum. A year will not pass till we shall have to take Cuba as a condition upon which they will stay in the Union.* They now have the Constitution under which we have lived over seventy years, and acts of Congress of their own framing, with no prospect of their being changed; and they can never have a more shallow pretext for breaking up the government, or extorting a compromise, than now. There is in my judgment but one compromise which would really settle the slavery question, and that would be a prohibition against acquiring any more territory.

11th. Alabama secedes.

12th. (To W. H. Seward.) I still hope Mr. Gilmer will, on a fair understanding with us, consent to take a place in the

Cabinet. The preference for him over Mr. Hunt or Mr. Gentry is, that, up to date, he has a living position in the South, while they have not. He is only *better* than Winter Davis in that he is *farther* South. I fear, if we could not safely take more than one such man—that is, not more than one who opposed us in the election—the danger being to lose the confidence of our own friends.

Your selection for the State Department having become public, I am happy to find scarcely any objection to it. I shall have trouble with every other Northern Cabinet appointment—so much so, that I shall have to defer them as long as possible, to avoid being teased to insanity, to make changes.

14th. (To General John E. Wool.) Many thanks for your patriotic and generous letter of the 11th instant. As to how far the military force of the government may become necessary to the preservation of the Union, and more particularly how that force can best be directed to the object, I must chiefly rely upon General Scott and yourself. It affords me the profoundest satisfaction to know that with both of you judgment and feeling go heartily with your sense of professional and official duty to the work.

18th. Georgia secedes.

21st. Withdrawal from the Senate of Jefferson Davis and other southern senators.

26th. (To Mrs. C. W. Pratt.) Herewith I send you my autograph, which you request.

26th. Louisiana secedes.

29th. Through the withdrawal of southern senators, the Republicans are able to admit Kansas to the Union as a free state.

February 2nd. (To George D. Prentice.) Yours of the 31st ult. requesting a copy of the inaugural is received. I have

the document blocked out; but in the now rapidly shifting scenes, I shall have to hold it subject to revision up to near the time of delivery. So soon as it shall take what I can regard as its final shape, I shall remember, if I can, to send you a copy.

The seceding states through their representatives at Montgomery, Alabama, form the Confederate States of America.

4th. (To Thurlow Weed.) I have both your letter to myself and that to Judge Davis, in relation to a certain gentleman in your State claiming to dispense patronage in my name, and also to be authorized to use my name to advance the chances of Mr. Greeley for an election to the United States Senate.

It is very strange that such things should be said by any one. The gentleman you mention did speak to me of Mr. Greeley in connection with the senatorial election, and I replied in terms of kindness toward Mr. Greeley, which I really feel, but always with an expressed protest that my name must not be used in the senatorial election in favor of or against any one. Any other representation of me is a misrepresentation.

As to the matter of dispensing patronage, it perhaps will surprise you to learn that I have information that you claim to have my authority to arrange that matter in New York. I do not believe that you have so claimed; but still so some men say. On that subject you know all I have said to you is "justice to all," and I have said nothing more particular to any one. I say this to reassure you that I have not changed my position.

10th. (To Herndon, after making final arrangements in their law office.) Billy, how long have we been together?

(Herndon: Over sixteen years.)

We've never had a cross word during all that time, have we? (After gathering up a bundle of papers:) Let it [their old signboard] hang there undisturbed. Give our clients to

understand that the election of a President makes no change in the firm of Lincoln & Herndon. If I live, I am coming back some time, and then we'll go right on practising law as if nothing had happened.

11th. On the platform of the railway car as he is about to leave Springfield for Washington:

"FRIENDS—No one who has never been placed in a like position can understand my feelings at this hour, nor the oppressive sadness I feel at this parting. For more than a quarter of a century I have lived among you, and during all that time I have received nothing but kindness at your hands. Here I have lived from my youth, until now I am an old man. Here the most sacred ties of earth were assumed. Here all my children were born; and here one of them lies buried. To you, dear friends, I owe all that I have, all that I am. All the strange, checkered past seems to crowd now upon my mind. To-day I leave you. I go to assume a task more difficult than that which devolved upon Washington. Unless the great God, who assisted him, shall be with and aid me, I must fail; but if the same omniscient mind and almighty arm that directed and protected him shall guide and support me, I shall not fail—I shall succeed. Let us all pray that the God of our fathers may not forsake us now. To Him I commend you all. Permit me to ask, that, with equal security and faith, you will invoke His wisdom and guidance for me. With these few words I must leave you: for how long I know not. Friends, one and all, I must now bid you an affectionate farewell."

12th. At Indianapolis.

Solomon says, there is "a time to keep silence," and when men wrangle by the mouth with no certainty that they mean the same thing, while using the same word, it perhaps were as well if they would keep silence.

The words "coercion" and "invasion" are much used in these days, and often with some temper and hot blood. Let us make sure, if we can, that we do not misunderstand the meaning of those who use them. Let us get exact definitions of these words, not from dictionaries, but from the men themselves, who certainly deprecate the things they would represent by the use of words. What, then, is "coercion"? What is "invasion"? Would the marching of an army into South Carolina without the consent of her people, and with hostile intent toward them, be "invasion"? I certainly think it would; and it would be "coercion" also if the South Carolinians were forced to submit. But if the United States should merely hold and retake its own forts and other property, and collect the duties on foreign importations, or even withhold the mails from places where they were habitually violated, would any or all of these things be "invasion" or "coercion"? Do our professed lovers of the Union, but who spitefully resolve that they will resist coercion and invasion, understand that such things as these on the part of the United States would be coercion or invasion of a State? If so, their idea of means to preserve the object of their great affection, would seem to be exceedingly thin and airy. If sick, the little pills of the homeopathist would be much too large for them to swallow. In their view, the Union as a family relation would seem to be no regular marriage, but rather a sort of "free-love" arrangement, to be maintained only on "passional attraction."

By the way, in what consists the special sacredness of a State? I speak not of the position assigned to a State in the Union by the Constitution; for that, by the bond, we all recognize. That position, however, a State can not carry out of the Union with it. I speak of that assumed primary right of a State to rule all which is *less* than itself, and ruin all which is larger than itself. If a State and a county, in a given case, should be equal in extent of territory, and equal in number of

inhabitants, in what, as a matter of principle, is the State better than the county? Would an exchange of names be an exchange of *rights* upon principle? On what rightful principle may a State, being not more than one fiftieth part of the nation, in soil and population, break up the nation, and then coerce a proportionally larger subdivision of itself, in the most arbitrary way? What mysterious right to play tyrant is conferred on a district of country with its people, by merely calling it a State?

At Cincinnati.

Twenty-four hours ago, at the capital of Indiana, I said to myself I have never seen so many people assembled together in winter weather. I am no longer able to say that. But it is what might reasonably have been expected—that this great city of Cincinnati would thus acquit herself on such an occasion. My friends, I am entirely overwhelmed by the magnificence of the reception which has been given, I will not say to me, but to the President-elect of the United States of America. Most heartily do I thank you, one and all, for it.

13th. At Columbus.*

In the varying and repeatedly shifting scenes I have not

*This speech with its strange assurance that "there is nothing going wrong" strikes a new note that startles Lincoln's adherents and leads some of them to distrust his mental poise. His frame of mind at this moment has never been satisfactorily explained. Throughout the months of January and February—in fact, during the whole winter of 1860-1861—he is a psychological puzzle,—unlike what he had been and different from what he was soon to be. There are times when he is quite himself—as in his firmness with regard to his policy on December 20—but often he is wavering, overshadowed, wistfully unhappy. The last interview with Herndon is typical. It is worth remembering also that the strange hallucination mentioned on page 206 introduces this period.

Whether he felt suddenly overpowered by his new responsibilities or from some more obscure cause, he resists explanation all this while and seems frequently to be walking in a troubled dream. Looking back from this episode to those other periods of mysterious gloom—following the death of Ann Rutledge, following the breaking of his engagement to Mary Todd—one hesitates to generalize, merely observes and wonders. All his friends agree that a vein of deep melancholy ran side by side with his boisterous humor. Both can be seen weaving in and out through the curious sobriety of his written fragments.

maintained silence from any want of real anxiety. It is a good thing that there is no more than anxiety, for there is nothing going wrong. It is a consoling circumstance that when we look out there is nothing that really hurts anybody. We entertain different views upon political questions, but nobody is suffering.

14th. At Steubenville.

I fear that the great confidence placed in my ability is unfounded. Indeed, I am sure it is. Encompassed by vast difficulties as I am, nothing shall be wanting on my part, if sustained by the American people and God. I believe the devotion to the Constitution is equally great on both sides of the [Ohio] river. It is only the different understanding of that instrument that causes difficulty. The only dispute on both sides is, "What are their rights?" If the majority should not rule, who would be the judge? Where is such a judge to be found? We should all be bound by the majority of the American people; if not, then the minority must control. Would that be right? Would it be just or generous? Assuredly not. I reiterate that the majority should rule. If I adopt a wrong policy, the opportunity for condemnation will occur in four years' time. Then I can be turned out, and a better man with better views put in my place.

15th. At Pittsburgh.

Notwithstanding the troubles across the (Monongahela) river, *there is really no crisis springing from any thing in the Government itself. In plain words, there is really no crisis, except an artificial one.* What is there now to warrant the condition of affairs presented by our friends "over the river"? Take even their own view of the questions involved, and there is nothing to justify the course they are pursuing. *I repeat it, then, there is no crisis, except such a one as may be gotten up at any time by turbulent men, aided by designing politicians.* My advice, then, under such circumstances is to *keep cool.*

At Cleveland.

Frequent allusion is made to the excitement at present existing in our national politics, and it is as well that I should also allude to it here. I think that there is no occasion for any excitement. I think the crisis, as it is called, is altogether an artificial one. In all parts of the nation there are differences of opinion, even here. You did not all vote for the person who now addresses you, although quite enough of you did for all practical purposes, to be sure.

18th. At Syracuse.

I see you have erected a very fine and handsome platform here for me, and I presume you expected me to speak from it. If I should go upon it, you would imagine that I was about to deliver you a much longer speech than I am. I wish you to understand that I mean no discourtesy to you by thus declining. I intend discourtesy to no one. But I wish you to understand that though I am unwilling to go upon this platform, you are not at liberty to draw any inferences concerning any other platform with which my name has been or is connected. I wish you long life and prosperity individually, and pray that with the perpetuity of those institutions under which we have all so long lived and prospered, our happiness may be secured, our future made brilliant, and the glorious destiny of our country established forever.

At Utica.

I have no speech to make to you, and no time to speak in. I appear before you that I may see you, and that you may see me; and I am willing to admit, that so far as the ladies are concerned, I have the best of the bargain, though I wish it to be understood that I do not make the same acknowledgment concerning the men.

19th. At New York City.

I am rather an old man to avail myself of such an excuse as I am now about to do. Yet the truth is so distinct, and

presses itself so distinctly upon me, that I can not well avoid it—and that is, that I did not understand when I was brought into this room that I was to be brought here to make a speech. It was not intimated to me that I was brought into the room where Daniel Webster and Henry Clay had made speeches, and where one in my position might be expected to do something like those men, or say something worthy of myself or my audience. I, therefore, beg you to make allowance for the circumstances in which I have been by surprise brought before you.

I do suppose that, while the political drama being enacted in this country, at this time, is rapidly shifting its scenes—forbidding an anticipation with any degree of certainty, to-day, of what we shall see to-morrow—it is peculiarly fitting that I should see it all, up to the last minute, before I should take ground that I might be disposed (by the shifting of the scenes afterward) also to shift. I have said several times upon this journey, and I now repeat it to you, that when the time does come, I shall then take the ground that I think is right—right for the North, for the South, for the East, for the West, for the whole country. And in doing so, I hope to feel no necessity pressing upon me to say anything in conflict with the Constitution; in conflict with the continued union of these States—in conflict with the perpetuation of the liberties of this people—or anything in conflict with anything whatever that I have ever given you reason to expect from me. And now, my friends, have I said enough? (Cries of no, no!) Now, my friends, there appears to be a difference of opinion between you and me, and I really feel called upon to decide the question myself.

21st. At Philadelphia. Allan Pinkerton brings in a report that there is a plan to murder Lincoln on his way to Washington, on the night of the twenty-second-twenty-third. Seward sends word that he has heard the same report. Both Pinkerton and Frederick Seward confer with Lincoln.

Pinkerton informed me that a plan had been laid for my assassination, the exact time when I expected to go through Baltimore being publicly known. He was well informed as to the plan, but did not know that the conspirators would have pluck enough to execute it. He urged me to go right through with him to Washington that night. I did not like that. I had made engagements to visit Harrisburg, and go from there to Baltimore, and I resolved to do so. I could not believe that there was a plot to murder me. I made arrangements, however, with Mr. Judd for my return to Philadelphia the next night, if I should be convinced that there was danger in going through Baltimore. I told him that if I should meet at Harrisburg, as I had at other places, a delegation to go with me to the next place (then Baltimore), I should feel safe, and go on.

(Frederick Seward urges more consideration of the report.)

Do you know anything about the way this information was obtained?

Did you hear any names mentioned? Did you, for instance, ever hear anything said about such a name as Pinkerton?

(Mr. Seward has no knowledge hitherto of Pinkerton's connection with the matter.)

Only to-day, since our arrival at this house, he brought this story, or something similar to it, about an attempt on my life in the confusion and hurly-burly of the reception at Baltimore.

That is why I was asking you about names. If different persons, not knowing of each other's work, have been pursuing separate clews that led to the same result, why, then, it shows there must be something in it. But if this is only the same story, filtered through two channels, and reaching me in two ways, then that don't make it any stronger. Don't you see?

Well, we haven't got to decide it to-night, anyway, and I see it is getting late. You need not think I will not consider it

well. I shall think it over carefully, and try to decide it right; and I will let you know in the morning.

22nd. (Address in Independence Hall.) I have often inquired of myself what great principle or idea it was that kept this Confederacy so long together. It was not the mere matter of separation of the Colonies from the mother land, but that sentiment in the Declaration of Independence which gave liberty not alone to the people of this country, but hope to all the world, for all future time. It was that which gave promise that in due time the weights would be lifted from the shoulders of all men, and that all should have an equal chance. This is the sentiment embodied in the Declaration of Independence. Now, my friends, can this country be saved on that basis? If it can, I will consider myself one of the happiest men in the world if I can help to save it. If it can not be saved upon that principle, it will be truly awful. But if this country can not be saved without giving up that principle, I was about to say I would rather be assassinated on this spot than surrender it. Now, in my view of the present aspect of affairs, there is no need of bloodshed and war. There is no necessity for it. I am not in favor of such a course, and I may say in advance that there will be no bloodshed, unless it is forced upon the Government, and then it will be compelled to act in self-defense.

At Harrisburg.

I recur for a moment but to repeat some words uttered at the hotel, in regard to what has been said about the military support which the General Government may expect from the commonwealth of Pennsylvania in a proper emergency. To guard against any possible mistake do I recur to this. It is not with any pleasure that I contemplate the possibility that a necessity may arise in this country for the use of the military arm. While I am exceedingly gratified to see the manifestation upon your streets of your military force here, and ex-

ceedingly gratified at your promise to use that force upon a proper emergency—while I make these acknowledgments I desire to repeat, in order to preclude any possible misconstruction, that I do most sincerely hope that we shall have no use for them: That it will never become their duty to shed blood, and most especially never to shed fraternal blood. I promise that, so far as I may have wisdom to direct, if so painful a result shall in any wise be brought about, it shall be through no fault of mine.

22nd-23rd. Because of the anxiety of his friends over the supposed discoveries of Pinkerton, Lincoln makes the journey from Harrisburg to Washington in secret. No further evidence of a conspiracy is discovered.

23rd. Lincoln breakfasts in Washington.

Texas secedes; immediately joins the Confederacy.

27th. (Reply to the Mayor of Washington.) I thank you, and through you the municipal authorities of this city who accompany you, for this welcome. As it is the first time in my life, since the present phase of politics has presented itself in this country, that I have said anything publicly within a region of country where the institution of slavery exists, I will take this occasion to say that I think very much of the ill-feeling that has existed and still exists between the people in the section from which I came and the people here, is dependent upon a misunderstanding of one another. I therefore avail myself of this opportunity to assure you, Mr. Mayor, and all the gentlemen present, that I have not now, and never have had, any other than as kindly feelings toward you as to the people of my own section. I have not now, and never have had, any disposition to treat you in any respect otherwise than as my

own neighbors. I have not now any purpose to withhold from you any of the benefits of the Constitution, under any circumstances, that I would not feel myself constrained to withhold from my own neighbors; and I hope, in a word, that when we shall become better acquainted, and I say it with great confidence, we shall like each other the more. I thank you for the kindness of this reception.

The last few days before the inauguration are filled by final negotiations over Cabinet positions—including the restoration of Cameron as Secretary of War—and the last revision of the inaugural address. It is criticized in detail by Seward who suggests many changes some of which Lincoln accepts.

March 4th. (Inaugural Address.) I take the official oath to-day with no mental reservations, and with no purpose to construe the Constitution or laws by any hypercritical rules.

I hold, that, in contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution, the Union of these States is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination.

I therefore consider, that, in view of the Constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken; and to the extent of my ability I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States. Doing this, I deem to be only a simple duty on my part, and I shall perform it so far as practicable, unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisite means, or in some authoritative manner direct the contrary.

I trust this will not be regarded as a menace, but only as the declared purpose of the Union that it will constitutionally defend and maintain itself.

In doing this there needs to be no bloodshed or violence; and there shall be none, unless it be forced upon the national authority. The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the government, and to collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what may be necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere.

Where hostility to the United States, in any interior locality, shall be so great and universal as to prevent competent resident citizens from holding the Federal offices, there will be no attempt to force obnoxious strangers among the people for that object. While the strict legal right may exist in the government to enforce the exercise of these offices, the attempt to do so would be so irritating, and so nearly impracticable withal, that I deem it better to forego for the time the uses of such offices.

One section of our country believes slavery is right, and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is wrong, and ought not to be extended; and this is the only substantial dispute; and the fugitive-slave clause of the Constitution, and the law for the suppression of the foreign slave-trade, are each as well enforced, perhaps, as any law can ever be in a community where the moral sense of the people imperfectly supports the law itself. The great body of the people abide by the dry legal obligation in both cases, and a few break over in each. This, I think, can not be perfectly cured; and it would be worse in both cases after the separation of the sections than before. The foreign slave-trade, now imperfectly suppressed, would be ultimately revived, without restriction, in one section, while fugitive slaves, now only partially surrendered, would not be surrendered at all by the other.

I understand a proposed amendment to the Constitution (which amendment, however, I have not seen) has passed Congress, to the effect that the Federal Government shall never

interfere with the domestic institutions of the States, including that of persons held to service. To avoid misconstruction of what I have said, I depart from my purpose not to speak of particular amendments so far as to say that, holding such a provision to now be implied constitutional law, I have no objection to its being made express and irrevocable. Why should there be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world? In our present differences is either party without faith of being in the right? If the Almighty Ruler of Nations, with his eternal truth and justice, be on your side of the North, or on yours of the South, that truth and that justice will surely prevail by the judgment of this great tribunal of the American people.

In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assail you.

You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the Government; while I shall have the most solemn one to "preserve, protect, and defend" it.

I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection.

The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battle-field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.*

(To William H. Seward.) Your note of the 2nd instant,

*Nicolay and Hay show in detail the changes in Lincoln's original manuscript that were due to Seward. The Inaugural marks the opening of a new epoch in Lincoln as a writer. Qualities of richness and distinction, unknown to his former writings, appear now and grow steadily more conspicuous.

asking to withdraw your acceptance of my invitation to take charge of the State Department, was duly received. It is the subject of the most painful solicitude with me, and I feel constrained to beg that you will countermand the withdrawal. The public interest, I think, demands that you should; and my personal feelings are deeply enlisted in the same direction. Please consider and answer by 9 A. M. to-morrow.

Seward decides to serve as Secretary of State.

5th. (To the Pennsylvania Delegation, Washington.) Allusion has been made to the hope that you entertain that you have a President and a government. In respect to that I wish to say to you that in the position I have assumed I wish to do more than I have ever given reason to believe I would do. I do not wish you to believe that I assume to be any better than others who have gone before me. I prefer rather to have it understood that if we ever have a government on the principles we profess, we should remember, while we exercise our opinion, that others have also rights to the exercise of their opinions, and that we should endeavor to allow these rights, and act in such a manner as to create no bad feeling. I hope we have a government and a President. I hope, and wish it to be understood, that there may be no allusion to unpleasant differences.

We must remember that the people of all the States are entitled to all the privileges and immunities of the citizens of the several States. We should bear this in mind, and act in such a way as to say nothing insulting or irritating. I would inculcate this idea, so that we may not, like the Pharisees, set ourselves up to be better than other people.

9th. (To General Scott.) On the 5th instant I received from the Honorable Joseph Holt, the then faithful and vigilant Secretary of War, a letter of that date, inclosing a letter and

accompanying documents received by him on the 4th instant from Major Robert Anderson, commanding Fort Sumter, South Carolina; and copies of all which I now transmit. Immediately on receipt of them by me, I transmitted the whole to you for your consideration, and the same day you returned the package to me with your opinion indorsed upon it, a copy of which opinion I now also transmit to you. Learning from you verbally that since then you have given the subject a more full and thorough consideration, you will much oblige me by giving answers, in writing, to the following interrogatories:

(1). To what point of time can Major Anderson maintain his position at Fort Sumter, without fresh supplies or reinforcement?

(2). Can you, with all the means now in your control, supply or reinforce Fort Sumter within that time?

(3). If not, what amount of means, and of what description, in addition to that already at your control, would enable you to supply and reinforce that fortress within the time?

Please answer these, adding such statements, information, and counsel as your great skill and experience may suggest.

Scott advises the withdrawal of the Sumter garrison on the ground that he lacks the military force necessary to relieve it.

The question of holding Fort Pickens on the Florida coast is also under discussion. The steamship Brooklyn, lying off Fort Pickens has on board a detachment of Federal troops. The President despatches orders to the Brooklyn to place these troops in the fort.

15th. (Note asking Cabinet opinions on Fort Sumter.)

Assuming it to be possible to now provision Fort Sumter, under all the circumstances is it wise to attempt it? Please give me your opinion in writing on this question.

Cabinet divides on the subject of relieving Sumter.

Seward heads the majority, advising the surrender of Sumter to the Confederates. Seward thinks the war scare will blow over if there is no bloodshed. The others think the North is not ready to fight. No action is taken.

The President is largely engrossed in making appointments to office.

18th. (To Secretary Seward.) I believe it is a necessity with us to make the appointments I mentioned last night—that is, Charles F. Adams to England, William L. Dayton to France, George P. Marsh to Sardinia, and Anson Burlingame to Austria. These gentlemen all have my highest esteem; but no one of them is originally suggested by me, except Mr. Dayton. Mr. Adams I take, because you suggested him, coupled with his eminent fitness for the place. Mr. Marsh and Mr. Burlingame I take because of the intense pressure of their respective States, and their fitness also.

(To Attorney-General Bates.) I shall be obliged if you will give me your opinion in writing whether, under the Constitution and existing laws, the executive has power to collect duties on shipboard off shore in cases where their collection in the ordinary way is by any cause rendered impracticable. This would include the question of lawful power to prevent the landing of dutiable goods unless the duties were paid.

26th. (To the Senate.) I have received a copy of the resolution of the Senate, passed on the 25th instant, requesting me, if in my opinion not incompatible with the public interest, to communicate to the Senate the despatches of Major Robert Anderson to the War Department during the time he has been in command of Fort Sumter. On examination of the correspondence thus called for, I have, with the highest respect for the Senate, come to the conclusion that at the present moment the publication of it would be inexpedient.

29th. President again consults the Cabinet upon the question of evacuating Sumter. The majority is now in favor of holding Sumter and accepting war if that is necessary. They have had their ears to the ground and now think that the North is in a mood to fight. Seward still favors evacuation.

(To the Secretary of War.) I desire that an expedition, to move by sea, be got ready to sail as early as the 6th of April next, the whole according to memorandum attached, and that you co-operate with the Secretary of the Navy for that object.

30th. (To John T. Stuart.) Cousin Lizzie shows me your letter of the 27th. The question of giving her the Springfield Post-office troubles me. You see I have already appointed William Jayne a territorial governor and Judge Trumbull's brother to a landoffice. Will it do for me to go on and justify the declaration that Trumbull and I have divided out all the offices among our relatives? Doctor Wallace, you know, is needy, and looks to me; and I personally owe him much.

I see by the papers, a vote is to be taken as to the Post-office. Could you not set up Lizzie and beat them all? She, being here, need know nothing of it, so therefore there would be no indelicacy on her part.

April 1st: Seward submits to the President a scheme of policy which in his judgment will unite North and South and avoid domestic war. He proposes to surrender Fort Sumter but hold Fort Pickens; to pick quarrels with Spain and France and if possible provoke a foreign war.

(To Secretary Seward.) Since parting with you I have been considering your paper dated this day, and entitled "Some Thoughts for the President's Consideration." The first prop-

osition in it is, "*First,* We are at the end of a month's administration, and yet without a policy either domestic or foreign."

At the beginning of that month, in the Inaugural, I said: "The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the government, and to collect the duties and imposts." This had your distinct approval at the time; and, taken in connection with the order I immediately gave General Scott, directing him to employ every means in his power to strengthen and hold the forts, comprises the exact domestic policy you now urge, with the single exception that it does not propose to abandon Fort Sumter.

Again, I do not perceive how the reinforcement of Fort Sumter would be done on a slavery or a party issue, while that of Fort Pickens would be on a more national and patriotic one.

The news received yesterday in regard to St. Domingo certainly brings a new item within the range of our foreign policy; but up to that time we have been preparing circulars and instructions to ministers and the like, all in perfect harmony, without even a suggestion that we had no foreign policy.

Upon your closing propositions—that "whatever policy we adopt, there must be an energetic prosecution of it.

"For this purpose it must be somebody's business to pursue and direct it incessantly.

"Either the President must do it himself, and be all the while active in it, or

"Devolve it on some member of his Cabinet. Once adopted, debates on it must end, and all agree and abide." I remark that if this must be done, I must do it. When a general line of policy is adopted, I apprehend there is no danger of its being changed without good reason, or continuing to be a subject of unnecessary debate; still, upon points arising in its progress I wish, and suppose I am entitled to have, the advice of all the Cabinet.

(To Lieutenant D. D. Porter.) You will proceed to New York, and with the least possible delay assuming command of any naval steamer available, proceed to Pensacola Harbor, and at any cost or risk prevent any expedition from the mainland reaching Fort Pickens or Santa Rosa Island.

You will exhibit this order to any naval officer at Pensacola, if you deem it necessary after you have established yourself within the harbor, and will request co-operation by the entrance of at least one other steamer.

This order, its object, and your destination will be communicated to no person whatever until you reach the harbor of Pensacola.

(To Commandant Andrew H. Foote.) Fit out the *Powhatan* to go to sea at the earliest possible moment under sealed orders. Orders by a confidential messenger go forward to-morrow.*

(To General Scott.) Would it impose too much labor on General Scott to make short comprehensive daily reports to me of what occurs in his department, including movements by himself, and under his orders, and the receipt of intelligence? If not, I will thank him to do so.

April 4th. On the 5th of March (the present incumbent's first full day in office), a letter of Major Anderson commanding at Fort Sumter, written on the 28th of February and received at the War Department on the 4th of March, was, by that department placed in his hands. This letter expressed the professional opinion of the writer that reinforcements could not be thrown into that fort, within the time of his relief, rendered necessary by the limited supply of provisions, and with a view of holding possession of the same, with a force of less than 20,000 good and well-disciplined men. This opinion was concurred in by all the officers of the command, and their

*For the purpose of relieving Fort Sumter. See p. 240.

memoranda on the subject were made inclosures of Major Anderson's letter. The whole was immediately laid before Lieutenant-General Scott, who at once concurred with Major Anderson in opinion. On reflection, however, he took full time, consulting with other officers, both of the army and the navy, and at the end of four days came reluctantly but decidedly to the same conclusion as before. He also stated at the same time that no such sufficient force was then at the control of the government, or could be raised and brought to the ground within the time when the provisions in the fort would be exhausted. In a purely military point of view, this reduced the duty of the administration in the case to the mere matter of getting the garrison safely out of the fort.

It was believed, however, that to so abandon that position, under the circumstances, would be utterly ruinous; that the necessity under which it was to be done would not be fully understood; that by many it would be construed as a part of a voluntary policy; that at home it would discourage the friends of the Union, embolden its adversaries, and go far to insure to the latter a recognition abroad; that, in fact, it would be our national destruction consummated. This could not be allowed. Starvation was not yet upon the garrison, and ere it would be reached Fort Pickens might be reinforced. This last would be clear indication of policy, and would better enable the country to accept the evacuation of Fort Sumter as a military necessity. An order was at once directed to be sent for the landing of the troops from the steamship *Brooklyn* into Fort Pickens. This order could not go by land, but must take the longer and slower route by sea.

The first return news from the order was received just one week before the fall of Fort Sumter. The news itself was that the officer commanding the Sabine, to which vessel the troops had been transferred from the *Brooklyn*, acting upon some *quasi* armistice of the late Administration (and of the existence

of which the present Administration,* up to the time the order was dispatched, had only too vague and uncertain rumors to fix attention), had refused to land the troops. To now reinforce Fort Pickens before a crisis would be reached at Fort Sumter was impossible—rendered so by the near exhaustion of provisions in the latter-named fort. In precaution against such a conjuncture, the government had, a few days before, commenced preparing an expedition as well adapted as might be to relieve Fort Sumter, which expedition was intended to be ultimately used, or not, according to circumstances. The strongest anticipated case for using it was now presented, and it was resolved to send it forward. As had been intended in this contingency, it was also resolved to notify the Governor of South Carolina that he might expect an attempt would be made to provision the fort; and that, if the attempt should not be resisted, there would be no effort to throw in men, arms, or ammunition, without further notice, or in case of an attack upon the fort.

(To Major Robert Anderson.) Your letter of the 1st instant occasions some anxiety to the President.

On the information of Captain Fox, he had supposed you could hold out till the 15th instant without any great inconvenience, and had prepared an expedition to relieve you before that period.

Hoping still that you will be able to sustain yourself till the 11th or 12th instant, the expedition will go forward, and, finding your flag flying, will attempt to provision you, and in case the effort is resisted, will endeavor also to reinforce you.

You will therefore hold out, if possible, till the arrival of the expedition.

It is not, however, the intention of the President to subject your command to any danger or hardship beyond what, in

*A promise made by President Buchanan to Senator Mallory of Florida.

your judgment, would be usual in military life: and he has entire confidence that you will act as becomes a patriot and a soldier under all circumstances.

Whenever, if at all, in your judgment, to save yourself and command, a capitulation becomes a necessity, you are authorized to make it.

6th. (To R. S. Chew.) You will proceed directly to Charleston, South Carolina; and if, on your arrival there, the flag of the United States shall be flying over Fort Sumter, and the fort shall not have been attacked, you will procure an interview with Governor Pickens, and read to him as follows: "I am directed by the President of the United States to notify you to expect an attempt will be made to supply Fort Sumter with provisions only; and that, if such attempt be not resisted, no effort to throw in men, arms, or ammunition will be made without further notice, or in case of an attack upon the fort."

After you shall have read this to Governor Pickens, deliver to him the copy of it herein enclosed, and retain this letter yourself.

But if, on your arrival at Charleston, you shall ascertain that Fort Sumter shall have been already evacuated, or surrendered by the United States force, or shall have been attacked by an opposing force, you will seek no interview with Governor Pickens, but return here forthwith.

11th. (To Postmaster-General Blair.) Has a Postmaster been appointed, as yet, at Covington, Kentucky? Colonel Carpenter wishes John S. Scott to be appointed. He says Scott is a Douglas Union man. I know nothing as to the propriety of this; but write to keep a promise.

(To Secretary Chase.) W. W. Danenhower is the only marked representative of the American organization in Illinois, who cooperated with us in 1858 and 1860, and who is now asking anything here. He was very serviceable to us then, and is very needy now.

Can anything be found for him—permanent or temporary? Please try.

12th. (To Attorney-General Bates.) On examination of papers, and full consideration, I have concluded to appoint Earl Bile, Marshal for the Northern District of Ohio.

Please send me the commission.

Surrender of Sumter demanded by the Confederate authorities and refused. Bombardment of Sumter begins. The fleet intended to relieve Sumter does not arrive in time to prevent the capture of the fort.

13th. (To a Committee from the Virginia Convention.) If, as now appears to be true, in pursuit of a purpose to drive the United States authority from these places, an unprovoked assault has been made upon Fort Sumter, I shall hold myself at liberty to repossess, if I can, like places which had been seized before the Government was devolved upon me. And in every event I shall, to the extent of my ability, repel force by force. In case it proves true that Fort Sumter has been assaulted, as is reported, I shall, perhaps, cause the United States mails to be withdrawn from all the States which claim to have seceded, believing that the commencement of actual war against the Government, justifies and possibly demands this. I scarcely need to say that I consider the military posts and property situated within the States which claim to have seceded as yet belonging to the Government of the United States as much as they did before the supposed secession. Whatever else I may do for the purpose, I shall not attempt to collect the duties and imposts by any armed invasion of any part of the country; not meaning by this, however, that I may not land a force deemed necessary to relieve a fort upon a border of the country.

14th. Sumter surrendered to the Confederate authorities. Anderson and his garrison permitted to withdraw by means of the belated fleet.

15th. (A Proclamation.) Whereas the laws of the United States have been for some time past and now are opposed, and the execution thereof obstructed in the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the marshals by law:

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, in virtue of the power in me vested by the Constitution and the laws, have thought fit to call forth, and hereby do call forth, militia of the several States of the Union, to the aggregate number of 75,000, in order to suppress said combinations, and to cause the laws to be duly executed.

17th. Virginia secedes.

19th. (Proclamation.) Whereas an insurrection against the Government of the United States has broken out in the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, and the laws of the United States for the collection of the revenue can not be effectually executed therein conformably to that provision of the Constitution which requires duties to be uniform throughout the United States;

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, with a view to the same purposes before mentioned, and to the protection of the public peace, and the lives and property of quiet and orderly citizens pursuing their lawful occupations, until Congress shall have assembled and deliberated on the said unlawful proceedings, or until the same

shall have ceased, have further deemed it advisable to set on foot a blockade of the ports within the States aforesaid, in pursuance of the laws of the United States, and of the law of nations in such case provided. For this purpose a competent force will be posted so as to prevent entrance and exit of vessels from the ports aforesaid. If, therefore, with a view to violate such blockade, a vessel shall approach or shall attempt to leave either of the said ports, she will be duly warned by the commander of one of the blockading vessels, who will endorse on her register the fact and date of such warning, and if the same vessel shall again attempt to enter or leave the blockaded port, she will be captured and sent to the nearest convenient port, for such proceedings against her and her cargo, as prize, as may be deemed advisable.

And I hereby proclaim and declare that if any person under the pretended authority of the said States, or under any other pretense, shall molest a vessel of the United States, or the persons or cargo on board of her, such person will be held amenable to the laws of the United States for the prevention and punishment of piracy.

Sixth Massachusetts regiment passing through Baltimore en route to Washington is attacked by a mob.

20th. (To the Governor of Maryland and the Mayor of Baltimore.) Your letter by Messrs. Bond, Dobbin, and Brune is received. I tender you both my sincere thanks for your efforts to keep the peace in the trying situation in which you are placed. For the future troops *must* be brought here, but I make no point of bringing them *through* Baltimore.

Without any military knowledge myself, of course I must leave details to General Scott. He hastily said this morning in the presence of these gentlemen, "March them *around* Baltimore, and not through it."

I sincerely hope the General, on fuller reflection, will consider this practical and proper, and that you will not object to it. By this a collision of the people of Baltimore with the troops will be avoided, unless they go out of their way to seek it. I hope you will exert your influence to prevent this. Now and ever I shall do all in my power for peace consistently with the maintenance of the government.

21st. We must have troops; and as they can neither crawl under Maryland nor fly over it, they must come across it.

Railroad from Washington northward destroyed by rioters. Telegraph wires are cut. Washington completely isolated from the North.

22nd. The force now sought to be brought through Maryland is intended for nothing but the defense of the capital. The President has necessarily confided the choice of the national highway which that force shall take in coming to this city to the lieutenant-general commanding the army of the United States, who, like his only predecessor, is not less distinguished for his humanity than for his loyalty, patriotism, and distinguished public services.

23rd. Why don't they come! Why don't they come!

24th. (To wounded soldiers while anxiously waiting for Northern troops.) I don't believe there is any North! The Seventh Regiment is a myth? Rhode Island is not known in our geography any longer. You are the only northern realities.

25th. Arrival at Washington of the Seventh Regiment of New York. Resumption of connection between the Capital and the North.

(To General Scott.) The Maryland Legislature assembles to-morrow at Annapolis, and not improbably will take action to arm the people of the State against the United

States. The question has been submitted to and considered by me, whether it would not be justifiable, upon the ground of necessary defense, for you, as General-in-chief of the United States Army, to arrest or disperse the members of that body. I think it would not be justifiable nor efficient for the desired object.

I therefore conclude that it is only left to the Commanding General to watch and wait their action, which, if it shall be to arm their people against the United States, he is to adopt the most prompt and efficient means to counteract, even, if necessary, to the bombardment of their cities, and, in the extremest necessity, the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*.

27th. (To General Scott.) You are engaged in suppressing an insurrection against the laws of the United States. If at any point on or in the vicinity of any military line which is now between the city of Philadelphia, via Perrysville, Annapolis City, and Annapolis Junction, you find resistance which renders it necessary to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* for the public safety, you personally, or through the officer in command at the point at which resistance occurs, are authorized to suspend that writ.

May 1st. (To Major Robert Anderson.) A few days ago I caused an official letter to be written to you, through the War Department, expressive of the approbation and gratitude I considered due you and your command from this government.

I now write this as a purely private and social letter to say I shall be much gratified to see you here at your earliest convenience, when and where I can personally testify my appreciation of your services and fidelity, and perhaps explain some things on my part which you may not have understood.

I shall also be very glad to see any of the officers who served with you at Fort Sumter, and whom it might be convenient and agreeable for you to invite to accompany you here.

(To Gustavus V. Fox, who had planned the relief of Sumter.) I sincerely regret that the failure of the late attempt to provision Fort Sumter should be the source of any annoyance to you. The practicability of your plan was not, in fact, brought to a test.

By reason of a gale, well known in advance to be possible and not improbable, the tugs, an essential part of the plan, never reached the ground, while by an accident for which you were in no wise responsible, and possibly I to some extent was,* you were deprived of a war vessel, with her men, which you deemed of great importance to the enterprise. I most cheerfully and truly declare, that the failure of the undertaking has not lowered you a particle, while the qualities you developed in the effort have greatly heightened you in my estimation. For a daring and dangerous enterprise of a similar character you would to-day be the man of all my acquaintances whom I would select. You and I both anticipated that the cause of the country would be advanced by making the attempt to provision Fort Sumter, even if it should fail; and it is no small consolation now to feel that our anticipation is justified by the result.

6th. (To Vice-President Hamlin.) Please advise me at the close of each day what troops left during the day, where going, and by what route; what remaining at New York, and what expected in the next day. Give the numbers, as near as convenient, and what corps they are. This information, reaching us daily, will be very useful as well as satisfactory.

10th. (To Secretary Chase.) I have felt myself obliged to refuse the post-office at this place to my old friend Nathan Sargent, which wounds him, and consequently me, very deeply. He now says there is an office in your department, called the

*The warship, *Powhatan*, intended by Secretary Welles for the Sumter was detached by virtue of an order submitted by Seward to Lincoln, who signed it without reading it.

"Commissioner of Customs," which the incumbent, a Mr. Ingram, wishes to vacate. I will be much obliged if you agree for me to appoint Mr. Sargent to this place.

13th. (To Secretary Cameron.) You see on the other side of this sheet that four German regiments already raised in New York wish to form a brigade and have Carl Schurz for their brigadier-general. Why should it not be done at once? By the plan of organization, I see I am to appoint the generals.

(To Colonel F. P. Blair.) We have a good deal of anxiety here about St. Louis. I understand an order has gone from the War Department to you, to be delivered or withheld in your discretion, relieving General Harney from his command. I was not quite satisfied with the order when it was made; though on the whole I thought it best to make it; but since then I have become more doubtful of its propriety. I do not write now to countermand it, but to say I wish you would withhold it, unless in your judgment the necessity to the contrary is very urgent. There are several reasons for this. We had better have him a *friend* than an *enemy*. It will dissatisfy a good many who otherwise would be quiet. More than all, we first relieve him, then restore him: and now if we relieve him again the public will ask, "Why all this vacillation?"

Still, if in your judgment it is *indispensable,* let it be so.

22nd. (To Governor E. D. Morgan.) I wish to see you face to face to clear these difficulties about forwarding troops from New York.

25th. (To Colonel Ellsworth's parents.) In the untimely loss of your noble son, our affliction here is scarcely less than your own. So much of promised usefulness to one's country, and of bright hopes for one's self and friends, have rarely been so suddenly dashed as in his fall. In size, in years, and in youthful appearance a boy only, his power to command men was surpassingly great. This power, combined with a fine

intellect, an indomitable energy, and a taste altogether military, constituted in him, as seemed to me, the best natural talent in that department I ever knew.

June 5th. (To General Scott.) Doubtless you begin to understand how disagreeable it is for me to do a thing arbitrarily when it is unsatisfactory to others associated with me.

I very much wish to appoint Colonel Meigs quartermaster-general, and yet General Cameron does not quite consent. I have come to know Colonel Meigs quite well for a short acquaintance, and, so far as I am capable of judging, I do not know one who combines the qualities of masculine intellect, learning, and experience of the right sort, and physical power of labor and endurance, so well as he.

I know he has great confidence in you, always sustaining, so far as I have observed, your opinions against any differing ones.

You will lay me under one more obligation if you can and will use your influence to remove General Cameron's objection. I scarcely need tell you I have nothing personal in this, having never seen or heard of Colonel Meigs until about the end of last March.

July 2nd. (To the Commanding General, Army of the United States.) You are engaged in suppressing an insurrection against the laws of the United States. If at any point on or in the vicinity of any military line which is now or which shall be used between the city of New York and the city of Washington you find resistance which renders it necessary to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* for the public safety, you personally, or through the officer in command at the point where resistance occurs, are authorized to suspend that writ.

4th. (Message to Congress.) And this issue [the Right of Secession] embraces more than the fate of these United States. It presents to the whole family of man the question whether a constitutional republic or democracy—a Government

of the people, by the same people—can or can not maintain its territorial integrity against its own domestic foes. It presents the question whether discontented individuals, too few in numbers to control administration, according to organic law in any case, can always, upon the pretenses, or arbitrarily without any pretense, break up their government, and thus practically put an end to free government upon the earth. It forces us to ask: "Is there, in all republics, this inherent and fatal weakness?" "Must a government, of necessity, be too strong for the liberties of its own people, or too weak to maintain its own existence?"

The States have their status in the Union, and they have no other legal status. If they break from this, they can only do so against law and by revolution. The Union, and not themselves separately, procured their independence and their liberty. By conquest or purchase the Union gave each of them whatever of independence or liberty it has. The Union is older than any of the States, and, in fact, it created them as States. Originally, some dependent colonies made the Union, and, in turn, the Union threw off their old dependence for them, and made them States, such as they are.

If all the States save one should assert the power to drive that one out of the Union, it is presumed the whole class of seceder politicians would at once deny the power and denounce the act as the greatest outrage upon State rights. But suppose that precisely the same act, instead of being called "driving the one out," should be called "the seceding of the others from that one," it would be exactly what the seceders claim to do, unless, indeed, they make the point that the one, because it is a minority, may rightfully do what the others, because they are a majority, may not rightfully do. These politicians are subtle and profound on the rights of minorities. They are not partial to that power which made the Constitution and speaks from the preamble called itself "We, the People."

This is essentially a people's contest. On the side of the Union it is a struggle for maintaining in the world that form and substance of government whose leading object is to elevate the condition of men—to lift artificial weights from all shoulders; to clear the paths of laudable pursuit for all; to afford all an unfettered start, and a fair chance in the race of life. Yielding to partial and temporary departures, from necessity, this is the leading object of the government for whose existence we contend.

Our popular government has often been called an experiment. Two points in it our people have already stated—the successful establishing and the successful administering of it. One still remains—its successful maintenance against a formidable internal attempt to overthrow it. It is now for them to demonstrate to the world that those who can fairly carry an election can also suppress a rebellion; that ballots are the rightful and peaceful successors of bullets; and that when ballots have been fairly and constitutionally decided, there can be no successful appeal back to bullets; that there can be no successful appeal, except to ballots themselves, at succeeding elections. Such will be a great lesson of peace; teaching men that what they can not take by an election, neither can they take it by a war; teaching all the folly of being the beginning of a war.

10th. (To General S. B. Buckner.) It is my duty, as I conceive, to suppress an insurrection existing within the United States. I wish to do this with the least possible disturbance or annoyance to well-disposed people anywhere. So far I have not sent an armed force into Kentucky, nor have I any present purpose to do so. I sincerely desire that no necessity for it may be presented; but I mean to say nothing which shall hereafter embarrass me in the performance of what may seem to be my duty.

18th. (To Secretary Chase.) I can scarcely avoid an

"unpleasantness," not to say a difficulty, or rupture, respectively with Mr. Senator King and Mr. Speaker Grow, unless I can find a place for each man. Mr. Grow, knowing I have Mr. King on hand, as well as himself, was here this morning, insisting that the second and fifth authorships are still open, and that I might give them to Mr. King's man and to his. Is the fact so? Are those places open? If they are, you would both oblige and relieve me by letting them go as indicated.

21st. Battle of Bull Run (First Manassas) is a disastrous Federal defeat.

In ordering General McDowell, who commanded at Bull Run, to offer battle against his judgment, Lincoln had yielded to the clamor of politicians in Congress who feared the effect on their constituents of military inaction. Lincoln now roused himself to defy them. Regardless of their wishes he selected for high command the man whom he supposed was the best soldier available.

22nd. General George B. McClellan summoned to Washington as second in command to General Scott.

23rd.

1. Let the plan for making the blockade effective be pushed forward with all possible despatch.
2. Let the volunteer forces at Fort Monroe and vicinity under General Butler be constantly drilled, disciplined, and instructed without more for the present.
3. Let Baltimore be held as now, with a gentle but firm and certain hand.
4. Let the force now under Patterson or Banks be strengthened and made secure in its position.
5. Let the forces in Western Virginia act till further or-

ders according to instructions or orders from General McClellan.

6. Let General Fremont push forward his organization and operations in the West as rapidly as possible, giving rather special attention to Missouri.

7. Let the forces late before Manassas, except the three-months men, be reorganized as rapidly as possible in their camps here and about Arlington.

8. Let the three-months forces who decline to enter the longer service be discharged as rapidly as circumstances will permit.

9. Let the new volunteer forces be brought forward as fast as possible, and especially into the camps on the two sides of the river here.

27th.

1. Let Manassas Junction (or some point on one or other of the railroads near it) and Strasburg be seized, and permanently held, with an open line from Washington to Manassas, and an open line from Harper's Ferry to Strasburg—the military men to find the way of doing these.

2. This done, a joint movement from Cairo on Memphis, and from Cincinnati on East Tennessee.

In answer to the resolution of the House of Representatives of the 24th instant, asking the grounds, reason, and evidence upon which the police commissioners of Baltimore were arrested and are now detained as prisoners at Fort McHenry, I have to state that it is judged to be incompatible with the public interest at this time to furnish the information called for by the resolution.

August 8th. (To Secretary Cameron.) Edward Ellsworth, first cousin to Colonel Ellsworth, who fell at Alexandria, a non-commissioned officer in the Fourth Regiment of Michigan Volunteers, now stationed at the Relay House,

wishes to be a second lieutenant in the army. He is present while I write this, and he is an intelligent and an exceedingly wary-appearing young man of twenty years of age. I shall be glad if a place can be found for him.

(To Gustave Koerner.) Your despatch, saying application of German Brigade is withdrawn, is just received. Without occupying our standpoint, you can not conceive how this subject embarrasses us. We have promises out, to more than four hundred regiments, which if they all come, are more than we want. If they all come, we could not take yours; if they do not all come we shall want yours, and yet we have no possible means of knowing whether they will all come or not. I hope you will make due allowance for the embarrassment this produces.

12th. (Proclamation.)

Whereas a joint committee of both Houses of Congress has waited on the President of the United States and requested him to "recommend a day of public prayer, humiliation, and fasting, to be observed by the people of the United States with religious solemnities, and the offering of fervent supplications to Almighty God for the safety and welfare of these States, His blessings on their arms, and a speedy restoration of peace;"

And whereas it is fit and becoming in all people, at all times, to acknowledge and revere the supreme government of God; to bow in humble submission to His chastisements; to confess and deplore their sins and transgressions, in the full conviction that the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom; and to pray with all fervency and contrition for the pardon of their past offenses, and for a blessing upon their present and prospective action;

And whereas when our own beloved country, once, by the blessing of God, united, prosperous, and happy, is now afflicted with faction and civil war, it is peculiarly fit for us to recognize the hand of God in this terrible visitation, and in

sorrowful remembrance of our own faults and crimes as a nation, and as individuals, to humble ourselves before Him and to pray for His mercy—to pray that we may be spared further punishment though most justly deserved; that our arms may be blessed and made effectual for the re-establishment of law, order, and peace throughout the wide extent of our country; and that the inestimable boon of civil and religious liberty, earned under His guidance and blessing by the labors and sufferings of our fathers, may be restored in all its original excellence;

Therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do appoint the last Thursday in September next as a day of humiliation, prayer, and fasting for all the people of the nation. And I do earnestly recommend to all the people, and especially to all ministers and teachers of religion, of all denominations, and to all heads of families, to observe and keep that day, according to their several creeds and modes of worship, in all humility and with all religious solemnity, to the end that the united prayer of the nation may ascend to the Throne of Grace, and bring down plentiful blessings upon our country.

Great concern at Washington over Missouri which seems likely to become a theater of war. General Fremont in command at St. Louis.

15th. (To Governor O. P. Morton.) Start your four regiments to St. Louis at the earliest moment possible. Get such harness as may be necessary for your rifled guns. Do not delay a single regiment, but hasten everything forward as soon as one regiment is ready. Have your three additional regiments organized at once. We shall endeavor to send you the arms this week.

(To General Fremont.) Been answering your messages since day before yesterday. Do you receive the answers? The

War Department had notified all the governors you designate to forward all available forces. So telegraphed you. Have you received these messages? Answer immediately.

The divided sentiment of the border States is a constant alarm to the President.

24th. (To Governor B. Magoffin of Kentucky.) Your letter of the 19th instant, in which you "urge the removal from the limits of Kentucky of the military force now organized and in camp within said State," is received.

I may not possess full and precisely accurate knowledge upon this subject, but I believe it is true that there is a military force in camp within Kentucky, acting by authority of the United States, which force is not very large, and is not now being augmented. I also believe that some arms have been furnished to this force by the United States.

I also believe that this force consists exclusively of Kentuckians, having their camp in the immediate vicinity of their own homes, and not assailing or menacing any of the good people of Kentucky.

In all I have done in the premises, I have acted upon the urgent solicitation of many Kentuckians, and in accordance with what I believed, and still believe, to be the wish of a majority of all the Union-loving people of Kentucky.

While I have conversed on this subject with many eminent men of Kentucky, including a large majority of her members of Congress, I do not remember that any one of them, or any other person, except your Excellency and the bearers of your Excellency's letter, has urged me to remove the military force from Kentucky or to disband it. One other very worthy citizen of Kentucky did solicit me to have the augmenting of the force suspended for a time.

Taking all the means within my reach to form a judgment,

I do not believe it is the popular wish of Kentucky that this force shall be removed beyond her limits; and, with this impression, I must respectfully decline to so remove it.

I most cordially sympathize with your Excellency in the wish to preserve the peace of my own native State, Kentucky, but it is with regret I search for and can not find, in your not very short letter, any declaration or intimation that you entertain any desire for the preservation of the Federal Union.

30th. Fremont at St. Louis, issues an order freeing slaves in his district and establishing a bureau of abolition. This is a sort of defiance of the President who has refused to make abolition the issue of the war. He insists that the purpose of the war is merely to restore the Union.

September 2nd. (To General John C. Fremont.) Two points in your proclamation of August 20 give me some anxiety.

First. Should you shoot a man, according to the proclamation, the Confederates would very certainly shoot our best men in their hands in retaliation; and so, man for man, indefinitely. It is, therefore, my order that you allow no man to be shot under the proclamation without first having my approbation or consent.

Second. I think there is great danger that the closing paragraph, in relation to the confiscation of property and the liberating slaves of traitorous owners, will alarm our Southern Union friends and turn them against us; perhaps ruin our rather fair prospect for Kentucky. Allow me, therefore, to ask that you will, as of your own motion, modify that paragraph so as to conform to the first and fourth sections of the act of Congress entitled, "An act to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes," approved August 6, 1861, and a copy of which act I herewith send you.

This letter is written in a spirit of caution, and not of censure. I send it by special messenger, in order that it may certainly and speedily reach you.

9th. (To General David Hunter.) General Fremont needs assistance which it is difficult to give him. He is losing the confidence of men near him, whose support any man in his position must have to be successful. His cardinal mistake is that he isolates himself and allows nobody to see him, and by which he does not know what is going on in the very matter he is dealing with. He needs to have by his side a man of large experience. Will you not, for me, take that place? Your rank is one grade too high to be ordered to it, but will you not serve the country and oblige me by taking it voluntarily?

11th. (To General Fremont.) Yours of the 8th, in answer to mine of the 2nd instant, is just received. Assuming that you, upon the ground, could better judge of the necessities of your position than I could at this distance, on seeing your proclamation of August 30 I perceived no general objection to it. The particular clause, however, in relation to the confiscation of property and the liberation of slaves appeared to me to be objectionable in its noncomformity to the act of Congress passed the 6th of last August upon the same subjects; and hence I wrote you, expressing my wish that that clause should be modified accordingly. Your answer, just received, expresses the preference on your part that I should make an open order for the modification, which I very cheerfully do. It is therefore ordered that the said clause of said proclamation be so modified, held, and construed as to conform to, and not to transcend, the provisions on the same subject contained in the act of Congress, entitled, "An act to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes," approved August 6, 1861, and that said act be published at length with this order.

12th. (To Mrs. Fremont, who has come to Washington

post-haste to complain that her husband is being treated ill.) Your two notes of to-day are before me. I answered the letter you bore me from General Fremont on yesterday, and not hearing from you during the day, I sent the answer to him by mail. It is not exactly correct, as you say you were told by the elder Mr. Blair, to say that I sent Postmaster-General Blair to St. Louis to examine into that department and report. Postmaster-General Blair did go, with my approbation, to see and converse with General Fremont as a friend. I do not feel authorized to furnish you with copies of letters in my possession without the consent of the writers. No impression has been made on my mind against the honor or integrity of General Fremont, and I now enter my protest against being understood as acting in any hostility toward him.

There is bitter protest over the cancelling of Fremont's abolition proclamation.

22nd. (To O. H. Browning.) General Fremont's proclamation as to confiscation of property and the liberation of slaves is purely political and not within the range of military law or necessity. If a commanding general finds a necessity to seize the farm of a private owner for a pasture, an encampment, or a fortification, he has the right to do so, and to so hold it as long as the necessity lasts; and this is within military law, because within military necessity. But to say the farm shall no longer belong to the owner, or his heirs forever, and this as well when the farm is not needed for military purposes as when it is, is purely political, without the savor of military law about it. And the same is true of slaves. If the general needs them, he can seize them and use them; but when the need is past, it is not for him to fix their permanent future condition. That must be settled according to laws made by lawmakers, and not by military proclamations. The proclamation

in the point in question is simply "dictatorship." It assumes that the general may do anything he pleases—confiscate the lands and free the slaves of loyal people, as well as of disloyal ones. And going the whole figure, I have no doubt, would be more popular with some thoughtless people than that which has been done! But I can not assume this reckless position, nor allow others to assume it on my responsibility.

You speak of it as being the only means of saving the government. On the contrary, it is itself the surrender of the government. Can it be pretended that it is any longer the Government of the United States—any government of constitution and laws—wherein a general or a president may make permanent rules of property by proclamation? I do not say Congress might not with propriety pass a law on the point, just such as General Fremont proclaimed. I do not say I might not, as a member of Congress, vote for it. What I object to is, that I, as President, shall expressly or impliedly seize and exercise the permanent legislative functions of the government.

So much as to principle. Now as to policy. No doubt the thing was popular in some quarters, and would have been more so if it had been a general declaration of emancipation. The Kentucky Legislature would not budge till that proclamation was modified; and General Anderson telegraphed me that on the news of General Fremont having actually issued deeds of manumission, a whole company of our volunteers threw down their arms and disbanded. I was so assured as to think it probable that the very arms we had furnished Kentucky would be turned against us. I think to lose Kentucky is nearly the same as to lose the whole game. Kentucky gone, we can not hold Missouri, nor, as I think, Maryland. These all against us, and the job on our hands is too large for us. We would as well consent to separation at once, including the surrender of this capital.

The government is unable to find arms for its soldiers. Only through purchases in Europe—726,000 rifles, the first year—is it able to equip its forces.

29th. (To Governor Morton.) You do not receive arms from us as fast as you need them; but it is because we have not near enough to meet all the pressing demands, and we are obliged to share around what we have, sending the larger share to the points which appear to need them most. We have great hope that our own supply will be ample before long, so that you and all others can have as many as you need. I see an article in an Indianapolis newspaper denouncing me for not answering your letter sent by special messenger two or three weeks ago. I did make what I thought the best answer to that letter. As I remember, it asked for ten heavy guns to be distributed, with some troops, at Lawrenceburg, Madison, New Albany, and Evansville; and I ordered the guns and directed you to send the troops, if you had them. As to Kentucky, you do not estimate that State as more important than I do, but I am compelled to watch all points. While I write this I am, if not in range, at least in hearing of cannon-shot from an army of enemies more than 1,000,000 strong. I do not expect them to capture this city; but I know they would if I were to send men and arms from here to defend Louisville, of which there is not a single hostile armed soldier within forty miles, nor any force known to be moving upon it from any distance. It is true the army in our front may make a half-circle around southward and move on Louisville, but when they do we will meet them; and in the meantime we will get up what forces we can from other sources to also meet them.

The importance of East Tennessee because of its anti-slavery population is ever in Lincoln's thoughts.

October 1st. On or about the 5th of October (the exact

date to be determined hereafter) I wish a movement made to seize and hold a point on the railroad connecting Virginia and Tennessee, near the mountain-pass called Cumberland Gap.

As to movements, my idea is that the one for the coast and that on Cumberland Gap be simultaneous, and that in the meantime preparation, vigilant watching, and the defensive only be acted upon; this, however, not to apply to Fremont's operations in northern and middle Missouri.

14th. (To General Scott.) The military line of the United States for the suppression of the insurrection may be extended so far as Bangor, Me. You and any officer acting under your authority are hereby authorized to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* in any place between that place and the city of Washington.

21st. (To Archbishop Hughes). I am sure you will pardon me if in my ignorance I do not address you with technical correctness. I find no law authorizing the appointment of chaplains for our hospitals; and yet the services of chaplains are more needed, perhaps, in the hospitals than with the healthy soldiers in the field. With this view, I have given a sort of *quasi* appointment (a copy of which I inclose) to each of three Protestant ministers, who have accepted and entered upon their duties. If you perceive no objection, I will thank you to give me the name or names of one or more suitable persons of the Catholic Church, to whom I may with propriety tender the same service.

Fremont for various reasons has become impossible.

24th. (To General S. R. Curtis.) On receipt of this, with the accompanying inclosures, you will take safe, certain, and suitable measures to have the inclosure addressed to Major-General Fremont delivered to him with all reasonable despatch,

subject to these conditions only: that if, when General Fremont shall be reached by the messenger—yourself or any one sent by you—he shall then have, in personal command, fought and won a battle, or shall then be actually in a battle, or shall then be in the immediate presence of the enemy in expectation of a battle, it is not to be delivered, but held for further orders. After, and not till after, the delivery to General Fremont, let the inclosure addressed to General Hunter be delivered to him.

(General Orders No. 18.)

Headquarters of the Army,

Washington, October 24, 1861.

Major-General Fremont, of the U. S. Army, the present commander of the Western Department of the same, will, on the receipt of this order, call Major-General Hunter of the U. S. Volunteers, to relieve him temporarily in that command, when he, (Major-General Fremont) will report to General Headquarters, by letter, for further orders.

WINFIELD SCOTT.

By command: E. D. TOWNSEND,

Assistant Adjutant-General.

(To the Commander of the Department of the West.) The command of the Department of the West having devolved upon you, I propose to offer you a few suggestions. Knowing how hazardous it is to bind down a distant commander in the field to specific lines and operations, as so much always depends on a knowledge of localities and passing events, it is intended, therefore, to leave a considerable margin for the exercise of your judgment and discretion.

The main rebel army (Price's) west of the Mississippi is believed to have passed Dade County in full retreat upon northwestern Arkansas, leaving Missouri almost freed from the enemy, excepting in the southeast of the State. Assuming this basis of fact, it seems desirable, as you are not likely to over-

take Price, and are in danger of making too long a line from your own base of supplies and reinforcements, that you should give up the pursuit, halt your main army, divide it into two corps of observation, one occupying Sedalia and the other Rolla, the present termini of railroads; then recruit the condition of both corps by reestablishing and improving their discipline and instructions, perfecting their clothing and equipments, and providing less uncomfortable quarters.

November 1st. On the 1st day of November, A. D., 1861, upon his own application to the President of the United States, Brevet Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott is ordered to be placed, and hereby is placed, upon the list of retired officers of the Army of the United States, without reduction in his current pay, subsistence, or allowances.

The American people will hear with sadness and deep emotion that General Scott has withdrawn from the active control of the Army, while the President and a unanimous Cabinet express their own and the nation's sympathy in his personal affliction, and their profound sense of the important public services rendered by him to his country during his long and brilliant career, among which will ever be gratefully distinguished his faithful devotion to the Constitution, the Union, and the flag when assailed by parricidal rebellion.

The President is pleased to direct that Major-General George B. McClellan assume the command of the Army of the United States.

The headquarters of the Army will be established in the city of Washington.

The promotion of McClellan makes trouble for Lincoln in Congress because McClellan is a Democrat and the Republican majority want a commanding general of their own party; but Lincoln is determined to stake everything on the professional soldier.

8th. Confederate envoys, Mason and Slidell, taken off the British merchant vessel Trent by U. S. cruiser. Great excitement throughout the United States. All the friends of Fremont and other radical politicians insist on returning the envoys.

I fear the traitors will prove to be white elephants. We must stick to American principles concerning the rights of neutrals. We fought Great Britain for insisting by theory and practise on the right to do exactly what Captain Wilkes has done. If Great Britain shall now protest against the act and demand their release, we must give them up, apologize for the act as a violation of our doctrines, and thus forever bind her over to keep the peace in relation to neutrals, and so acknowledge that she has been wrong for sixty years.

Despite the popular clamor, Mason and Slidell are allowed to proceed on their journey to Liverpool.

Lincoln realizes how dangerous may be the power of the press in time of war.

21st. (To Governor Walker.) I have thought over the interview which Mr. Gilmore has had with Mr. Greeley, and the proposal that Greeley has made to Gilmore, namely, that he (Gilmore) shall communicate to him (Greeley) all that he learns from you of the inner workings of the administration, in return for his (Greeley's) giving such aid as he can to the new magazine, and allowing you (Walker) from time to time the use of his (Greeley's) columns when it is desirable to feel of, or forestall, public opinion on important subjects. The arrangement meets my unqualified approval, and I shall further it to the extent of my ability, by opening to you—as I do now—fully the policy of the Government—its present

views and future intentions when formed, giving you permission to communicate them to Gilmore for Greeley; and in case you go to Europe I will give these things direct to Gilmore. But all this must be on the express and explicit understanding that the fact of these communications coming from me shall be absolutely confidential—not to be disclosed by Greeley to his nearest friend, or any of his subordinates. He will be, in effect, my mouthpiece, but I shall not be known to be the speaker.

I need not tell you that I have the highest confidence in Mr. Greeley. He is a great power. Having him firmly behind me will be as helpful to me as an army of one hundred thousand men. That he has ever kicked the traces has been owing to his not being fully informed. Tell Gilmore to say to him that, if he ever objects to my policy, I shall be glad to have him state to me his views frankly and fully. I shall adopt his if I can. If I can not, I will at least tell him why. He and I should stand together, and let no minor differences come between us; for we both seek one end, which is the saving of our country. Now, Governor, this is a longer letter than I have written in a month—longer than I would have written for any other man than Horace Greeley.

In McClellan Lincoln appears to have made a mistake. The new General treats the President as a crude layman, even snubs him.

While Lincoln waits for McClellan at the latter's house the General comes in and instead of meeting the President quietly slips off to bed. Young Hay, Lincoln's secretary, is furious at this "insolence of epaulettes." Lincoln wearily replies—

I will hold McClellan's horse if he will only win me victories.

December 1st. (Inquiries and observations by the President: replies to inquiries, in italics, by General McClellan.) If it were determined to make a forward movement of the Army of the Potomac without awaiting further increase of numbers or better drill and discipline, how long would it require to actually get in motion?

If bridge trains ready by December 15th, probably 25th.

After leaving all that would be necessary, how many troops could join the movement from southwest of the river?

Seventy-one thousand.

How many from northeast of it?

Thirty-three thousand.

Suppose, then, that of those southwest of the river fifty thousand move forward and menace the enemy at Centerville; the remainder of the movable force on that side move rapidly to the crossing of the Occoquan by the road from Alexandria to Richmond, there to be joined by the whole movable force from northeast of the river, having landed from the Potomac, just below the mouth of the Occoquan, moved by land up the south side of that stream to the crossing point named, then the whole move together by the road thence to Brentsville and beyond to the railroad just south of its crossing of Broad Run, a strong detachment of cavalry having gone rapidly ahead to destroy the railroad bridges south and north of the point.

If the crossing of the Occoquan by those from above be resisted, those landing from the Potomac below to take the resisting force of the enemy in the rear; or, if the landing from the Potomac be resisted, those crossing the Occoquan from above to take that resisting force in the rear. Both points will probably not be successfully resisted at the same time.

Armed vessels and transportation should remain at the Potomac landing to cover a possible retreat.

3rd. (Message to Congress.) The war continues. In considering the policy to be adopted for suppressing the insurrection, I have been anxious and careful that the inevitable conflict for this purpose shall not degenerate into a violent and remorseless revolutionary struggle. I have, therefore, in every case thought it proper to keep the integrity of the Union prominent as the primary object of the contest on our part, leaving all questions which are not of vital military importance to the more deliberate action of the Legislature.

In the exercise of my best discretion I have adhered to the blockade of the ports held by the insurgents, instead of putting in force, by proclamation, the law of Congress enacted at the last session for closing those ports.

So, also, obeying the dictates of prudence as well as the obligations of law, instead of transcending, I have adhered to the act of Congress to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes. If a new law upon the same subject shall be proposed, its propriety will be duly considered. The Union must be preserved; and hence all indispensable means must be employed. We should not be in haste to determine that radical and extreme measures, which may reach the loyal as well as the disloyal, are indispensable.

It continues to develop that the insurrection is largely, if not exclusively, a war upon the first principle of popular government—the rights of the people. Conclusive evidence of this is found in the most grave and maturely considered public documents, as well as in the general tone of the insurgents. In those documents we find the abridgment of the existing right of suffrage, and the denial to the people of all right to participate in the selection of public officers except the legislative, boldly advocated, with labored arguments to prove that large control of the people in government is the source of all political evil. Monarchy itself is sometimes hinted at as a possible refuge from the power of the people.

In my present position I could scarcely be justified were I to omit raising a warning voice against this approach of returning despotism.

It is not needed, nor fitting here that a general argument should be made in favor of popular institutions; but there is one point, with its connections, not so hackneyed as most others to which I ask a brief attention. It is the effort to place capital on an equal footing with, if not above, labor, in the structure of government. It is assumed that labor is available only in connection with capital; that nobody labors unless somebody else, owning capital, somehow by the use of it induces him to labor. This assumed, it is next considered whether it is best that capital shall hire laborers, and thus induce them to work by their own consent, or buy them, and drive them to it without their consent. Having proceeded thus far, it is naturally concluded that all laborers are either hired laborers or what we call slaves. And further, it is assumed that whoever is once a hired laborer is fixed in that condition for life.

Now, there is no such relation between capital and labor as assumed; nor is there any such thing as a free man being fixed for life in the condition of a hired laborer. Both these assumptions are false, and all inferences from them are groundless.

Labor is prior to, and independent of, capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration. Capital has its rights, which are as worthy of protection as any other rights.

Innumerable details of dissatisfaction claim the President's attention.

14th. (To Rev. Dr. A. Fischel.) I find that there are several particulars in which the present law in regard to

Chaplains is supposed to be deficient, all of which I now design presenting to the appropriate Committee of Congress. I shall try to have a new law broad enough to cover what is desired by you in behalf of the Israelites.

31st. (To General Halleck, in command of the West.) General McClellan is sick. Are General Buell and yourself in concert? When he moves on Bowling Green, what hinders it being reinforced from Columbus? A simultaneous movement by you on Columbus might prevent it.

(To Major-General Hunter, who is forever complaining.) Yours of the 23rd is received, and I am constrained to say it is difficult to answer so ugly a letter in good temper. I am, as you intimate, losing much of the great confidence I placed in you, not from any act of omission of yours touching the public service up to the time you were sent to Leavenworth, but from the flood of grumbling despatches and letters I have seen from you since.

I have been, and am, sincerely your friend; and if, as such I dare to make a suggestion, I would say you are adopting the best possible way to ruin yourself. "Act well your part, there all the honor lies." He who does something at the head of one Regiment, will eclipse him who does nothing at the head of a hundred.

1862

Lincoln is very eager to have the Western generals march to the assistance of the people of Eastern Tennessee who are mainly for the Union.

January 1st. (To General D. C. Buell.) General McClellan should not be disturbed with business. I think you better get in concert with General Halleck at once. I write you to-night. I also telegraph and write Halleck.

(To General H. W. Halleck.) General McClellan is not dangerously ill, as I hope, but would better not be disturbed with business. I am very anxious that, in case of General Buell's moving toward Nashville, the enemy shall not be greatly re-inforced, and I think there is danger he will be from Columbus. It seems to me that a real or feigned attack on Columbus from up-river at the same time would either prevent this or compensate for it by throwing Columbus into our hands. I wrote General Buell a letter similar to this, meaning that he and you shall communicate and act in concert, unless it be your judgment and his that there is no necessity for it. You and he will understand much better than I how to do it. Please do not lose time in this matter.

6th. (To General D. C. Buell.) Your despatch of yesterday has been received and it disappoints and distresses me. My distress is that our friends in East Tennessee are being hanged and driven to despair and even now I fear are taking rebel arms for the sake of personal protection. In this we lose the most valuable state we have in the South. My despatch to which yours is an answer was sent with the knowledge of Senator Johnson and Representative Maynard of East Tennessee

and they will be upon me to know the answer which I can not safely show them. They would despair; possibly resign to go and save their families somehow or die with them.

I do not intend this to be an order in any sense but merely as intimated before to show you the grounds of my anxiety.

7th. (To General D. C. Buell.) Please name as early a day as you safely can on or before which you can be ready to move southward in concert with Major-General Halleck. Delay is ruining us, and it is indispensable for me to have something definite. I send a like despatch to Major-General Halleck.

10th. (Indorsement.) The within is a copy of a letter just received from General Halleck. It is exceedingly discouraging. As everywhere else, nothing can be done.

All this while bitter intrigues inside the ruling party. Cameron disagrees with his chief and tries to play into the hands of the Abolitionists. His enemies accuse him of peculation. Lincoln forces him to offer his resignation, but at the same time devises a way to save his face for him.

11th. (To Secretary Cameron.) Though I have said nothing hitherto in response to your wish, expressed long since, to resign your seat in the Cabinet, I have not been unmindful of it. I have been only unwilling to consent to a change at a time and under circumstances which might give occasion to misconstruction, and unable till now to see how such misconstruction could be avoided.

But the desire of Mr. Clay to return home and to offer his services to his country in the field enables me now to gratify your wish, and at the same time evince my personal regard for you, and my confidence in your ability, patriotism, and fidelity to public trust.

I therefore tender for your acceptance, if you still desire to resign your present position, the post of minister to Russia.

Should you accept it, you will bear with you the assurance of my undiminished confidence, of my affectionate esteem, and of my sure expectation that, near the great sovereign whose personal and hereditary friendship for the United States so much endears him to Americans, you will be able to render services to your country not less important than those you could render at home.

(To dissatisfied Republican Senators who urge him to appoint a whole new Cabinet.) Gentlemen, your request for a change of the whole Cabinet because I have made one change reminds me of a story I once heard in Illinois, of a farmer who was much troubled with skunks. His wife insisted on his trying to get rid of them.

He loaded his shotgun one moonlight night and awaited developments. After some time the wife heard the shotgun go off, and in a few minutes the farmer entered the house.

"What luck have you?" asked she.

"I hid myself behind the wood-pile," said the old man, "with the shotgun pointed toward the hen-roost, and before long there appeared not one skunk, but seven. I took aim, blazed away, killed one, and he raised such a fearful smell that I concluded it was best to let the other six go."

13th. (To General D. C. Buell.) Your despatch of yesterday is received, in which you say: "I have received your letter and General McClellan's, and will at once devote all my efforts to your views and his." In the midst of my many cares, I have not seen nor asked to see General McClellan's letter to you. For my own views, I have not offered and do not now offer them as orders; and while I am glad to have them respectfully considered, I would blame you to follow them contrary to your own clear judgment, unless I should put them in the form of orders. As to General McClellan's views, you understand your duty in regard to them better than I do.

With this preliminary, I state my general idea of this war to be that we have the greater numbers, and the enemy has the greater facility of concentrating forces upon points of collision; that we must fail unless we can find some way of making our advantage an overmatch for his; and that this can only be done by menacing him with superior forces at different points at the same time, so that we can safely attack one or both if he makes no change; and if he weakens one to strengthen the other, forbear to attack the strengthened one, but seize and hold the weakened one, gaining so much.

Not only in the West but in the East as well the slowness of military preparation has become unbearable. Though McClellan has organized a great army he still insists that more time must elapse before he will be ready to advance. At last Lincoln can not restrain his impatience any longer.

27th. (President's General War Order No. 1.)

Ordered, That the 22nd day of February, 1862, be the day for a general movement of all the land and naval forces of the United States against the insurgent forces. That especially the army at and about Fortress Monroe, the army of the Potomac; the army of Western Virginia; the army near Munfordville, Kentucky; the army and flotilla at Cairo, and a naval force in the Gulf of Mexico, be ready to move on that day.

That all other forces, both land and naval, with their respective commanders, obey existing orders for the time, and be ready to obey additional orders when duly given.

That the heads of departments, and especially the Secretaries of War and the Navy, with all their subordinates, and the general-in-chief, with all other commanders and subordinates of land and naval forces, will severally be held to their strict and full responsibilities for prompt execution of this order.

31st. (President's Special War Order No. 1.)

Ordered, That all the disposable force of the army of the Potomac, after providing safely for the defense of Washington, be formed into an expedition for the immediate object of seizing and occupying a point upon the railroad southwestward of what is known as Manassas Junction; all details to be in the discretion of the general-in-chief, and the expedition to move before or on the 22nd day of February next.

The President and the General disagree sharply as to what plan of campaign should be adopted.

February 3rd. (To McClellan.) You and I have distinct and different plans for a movement of the Army of the Potomac—yours to be down the Chesapeake, up the Rappahannock to Urbana, and across land to the terminus of the railroad on the York River; mine to move directly to a point on the railroad southwest of Manassas. If you will give me satisfactory answers to the following questions, I shall gladly yield my plan to yours.

Does not your plan involve a greatly larger expenditure of *time* and *money* than mine?

Wherein is a victory more certain by your plan than mine?

Wherein is a victory *more valuable* by your plan than mine?

In fact, would it not be less valuable in this, that it would break no great line of the enemy's communications, while mine would?

In case of disaster, would not a retreat be more difficult by your plan than mine?

(To William H. Herndon.) Yours of January 30th just received. Do just as you say about the money matter. As you well know, I have not time to write a letter of respectable length. God bless you.

4th. To all whom these Presents shall come. Greetings: Whereas it appears that at a term of the Circuit Court of the

United States of America for the Southern District of New York, held in the month of November, A. D., 1861, Nathaniel Gordon was indicted and convicted for being engaged in the slave-trade, and was by the said court sentenced to be put to death by hanging by the neck, on Friday the 7th day of February, A. D., 1862:

And whereas a large number of respectable citizens have earnestly besought me to commute the said sentence of the said Nathaniel Gordon to a term of imprisonment for life, which application I have felt it to be my duty to refuse:

And whereas it has seemed to me probable that the unsuccessful application made for the commutation of his sentence may have prevented the said Nathaniel Gordon from making the necessary preparation for the awful change which awaits him;

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America, have granted and do hereby grant unto him, the said Nathaniel Gordon, a respite of the above recited sentence until Friday, the twenty-first day of February, A. D., 1862, between the hours of twelve o'clock at noon and three o'clock in the afternoon of the said day, when the said sentence shall be executed.

In granting this respite it becomes my painful duty to admonish the prisoner that, relinquishing all expectation of pardon by human authority, he refer himself alone to the mercy of the common God and Father of all men.

15th. First notable Federal victory. Fort Donelson taken by the Western army.

16th. (To General H. W. Halleck.) You have Fort Donelson safe, unless Grant shall be overwhelmed from outside; to prevent which latter will, I think, require all the vigilance. energy, and skill of yourself and Buell, acting in full

cooperation. Columbus will not get at Grant, but the force from Bowling Green will. They hold the railroad from Bowling Green to within a few miles of Fort Donelson, with the bridge at Clarksville undisturbed.

Could not a cavalry force from General Thomas on the Upper Cumberland dash across, almost unresisted, and cut the railroad at or near Knoxville, Tennessee? In the midst of a bombardment at Fort Donelson why could not a gunboat run up and destroy the bridge at Clarksville? Our success or failure at Fort Donelson is vastly important, and I beg you to put your soul in the effort.

20th. The President's son, "Willie," dies after a short illness. He was tenderly loved by his father and for a time following his death Lincoln finds the weight of his duties all but intolerable.

At this moment of extreme distress all the factions in Congress which for one reason or another disapprove his policy press their own policies on the President relentlessly.

The Abolition group is particularly vehement, ignoring the President's solicitude as to the effect of their policy on the border states (page 256). Lincoln, presently, makes a move that may turn their flank.

March 6th. Fellow-citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives: I recommend the adoption of a joint resolution by your honorable body, which shall be substantially as follows:

Resolved, That the United States, in order to cooperate with any State which may adopt gradual abolishment of slavery, ought to give such State pecuniary aid, to be used by such State, in its discretion, to compensate for the inconvenience, public and private, produced by such change of system.

If the proposition contained in the resolution does not meet

the approval of Congress and the country, there is an end of it. But if it does command such approval, I deem it of importance that the States and people immediately interested should be at once distinctly notified of the fact, so that they may begin to consider whether to accept or reject it.

The point is not that all the States tolerating slavery would very soon, if at all, initiate emancipation; but that, while the offer is equally made to all, the more Northern shall, by such initiation, make it certain to the more Southern that in no event will the former join the latter in their proposed confederacy. I say initiation because, in my judgment, gradual and not sudden emancipation is better for all.

7th. Despite the War Order No. 1, Lincoln has not compelled McClellan to go forward against his judgment. He is determined to let the military expert decide the matter. But he hopes that McClellan will not be sustained by other generals, and therefore calls a council of division commanders, twelve altogether, who are to decide between his plan and McClellan's, (page 274). He promises them to abide by their decision. The council decides against him, eight to four.

(To Stanton who urges him to disregard the council.) We are civilians. We should justly be held responsible for any disaster if we set up our opinions against those of experienced military men in the practical management of a campaign.

Lincoln notices that the four generals who agreed with him are of the old army and do not owe their position to McClellan. This gives him an idea. He sees a way to enhance their influence in the army by reorganizing it in army corps and promoting these men to the rank of corps commanders.

8th. (President's General War Order No. 2.) Ordered:

That the Major-General commanding the army of the Potomac proceed, forthwith, to organize that part of the said army destined to enter upon active operations (including the reserve, but excluding the troops to be left in the fortifications about Washington) into four army corps.

The forces left for the defense of Washington will be placed in command of Brigadier-General James Wadsworth, who shall also be Military Governor of the District of Columbia.

(President's General War Order No. 3.) Ordered: That no change of the base of operations of the army of the Potomac shall be made without leaving in and about Washington such a force as in the opinion of the general-in-chief and the commanders of all the army corps shall leave said city entirely secure.

That no more than two army corps (about fifty thousand troops) of said army of the Potomac shall be moved *en route* for a new base of operations until the navigation of the Potomac from Washington to the Chesapeake Bay shall be freed from enemy's batteries and other obstructions, or until the President shall hereafter give express permission.

9th. (To Henry J. Raymond.) I am grateful to the New York journals, and not less so to the *Times* than to others, for their kind notices of the late special message to Congress.

Your paper, however, intimates that the proposition, though well intentioned, must fail on the score of expense. I do hope you will reconsider this. Have you noticed the facts that less than one-half day's cost of this war would pay for all the slaves in Delaware at four dollars per head—that eighty-seven days' cost of this war would pay for all in Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Kentucky, and Missouri at the same price? Were those States to take the step, do you doubt that it would shorten the war more than eighty-seven days, and thus be an actual saving of expense?

Please look at these things and consider whether there should not be another article in the *Times*.

While McClellan slowly prepares to carry out his flanking plan, General J. A. Johnston assumes that he will move directly south and skilfully draws back his army to a stronger position. Lincoln feels that an opportunity to destroy Johnston has been lost. For once he is angry. He takes from McClellan the rank of commanding general.

10th. In his eagerness for a policy of compensated emancipation Lincoln calls together a number of Border States Representatives and explains his position.

The President said he did not pretend to disguise his anti-slavery feeling; that he thought it was wrong, and should continue to think so; but that was not the question we had to deal with now. Slavery existed, and that, too, as well by the act of the North as of the South; and in any scheme to get rid of it, the North as well as the South was morally bound to do its full and equal share. He thought the institution wrong and ought never to have existed; but yet he recognized the rights of property which had grown out of it, and would respect those rights as fully as similar rights in any other property; that property can exist, and does legally exist.

11th. (President's Special War Order No. 3.) Major-General McClellan, having personally taken the field as the head of the army of the Potomac until otherwise ordered, he is relieved from the command of the other military departments, he retaining command of the Department of the Potomac.

That all the commanders of departments, after the receipt of this order by them, respectively report, severally and directly to the Secretary of War, and that prompt, full, and frequent reports will be expected of all and each of them.

19th. (To Doctor Samuel Boyd Tobey.) A domestic affliction,* of which doubtless you are informed, has delayed me so long in making acknowledgment of the very kind and appropriate letter signed on behalf and by direction of a meeting of the representatives of the Society of Friends for New England, held at Providence, Rhode Island, the 8th of second month, 1862, by Samuel Boyce, clerk, and presented to me by yourself and associates.

Engaged as I am in a great war, I fear it will be difficult for the world to understand how fully I appreciate the principles of peace inculcated in this letter and everywhere by the Society of Friends.

Grateful to the good people you represent for the prayers in behalf of our common country, I look forward hopefully to an early end of war and return to peace.

Radical Senators have convinced themselves that McClellan is not loyal, that he is delaying for a purpose, and that he schemes to leave Washington unprotected while he removes his army to the Southeast. They bring renewed pressure to bear on Lincoln demanding his interference in McClellan's plans.

31st. (To General G. B. McClellan.) This morning I felt constrained to order Blenker's division to Fremont, (who has been put in command in Northern Virginia) and I write this to assure you I did so with great pain, understanding that you would wish it otherwise. If you could know the full pressure of the case, I am confident that you would justify it, even beyond a mere acknowledgment that the commander-in-chief may order what he pleases.

April 1st. Conference of Lincoln and McClellan at Alexandria, as McClellan is about to go down the Potomac to Fortress Monroe.

*The death of his son.

3rd. (To Stanton.) The Secretary of War will order that one or the other of the corps of General McDowell and General Sumner remain in front of Washington until further orders from the department, to operate at or in the direction of Manassas Junction, or otherwise, as occasion may require; that the other corps not so ordered to remain go forward to General McClellan as speedily as possible; that General McClellan commence his forward movements from his new base at once; and that incidental modifications as the foregoing may render proper be also made.*

9th. (To Halleck.) If the rigor of the confinement of Magoffin at Alton is endangering his life or materially impairing his health I wish it mitigated as far as it can be consistently with his safe detention.

McClellan, always overestimating the difficulties of his task, complains to the President continually.

9th. (To McClellan.) Your despatches, complaining that you are not properly sustained, while they do not offend me, do pain me very much.

Blenker's division was withdrawn from you before you left here, and you know the pressure under which I did it, and, as I thought, acquiesced in it—certainly not without reluctance.

After you left, I ascertained that less than twenty thousand unorganized men, without a single field-battery, were all you

*The movements of McDowell are the central issue in the strange controversy which now ensues between the President and McClellan. A review of the facts in anticipation will be helpful; McClellan advanced westward from Fortress Monroe expecting McDowell to move south from Washington and join him before Richmond; Johnston sent Jackson into the valley of Virginia to appear to threaten Washington hoping this would stop the advances of McDowell; Lincoln fell into his trap and sent McDowell against Jackson; Johnston attacked and checked McClellan on the Chickahominy; a month later while McDowell was still in the vicinity of Washington Jackson slipped across Virginia and brought his forces into the terrible battle of the Seven Days which ended McClellan's campaign.

designed to be left for the defense of Washington and Manassas Junction, and part of this even was to go to General Hooker's old position. General Banks' corps, once designed for Manassas Junction, was diverted and tied up on the line of Winchester and Strasburg, and could not leave it without again exposing the upper Potomac and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. This presented, or would present, when McDowell and Sumner should be gone, a great temptation to the enemy to turn back from the Rappahannock and sack Washington. My explicit order that Washington should, by the judgment of all the commanders of corps, be left entirely secure, had been neglected. It was precisely this that drove me to detain McDowell.

10th. (To R. Yates and William Butler.) I fully appreciate General Pope's splendid achievements, with their invaluable results, but you must know that major-generalships in the regular army are not as plentiful as blackberries.

Abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

16th. The act entitled "An act for the release of certain persons held to service for labor in the District of Columbia" has this day been approved and signed.

I have never doubted the constitutional authority of Congress to abolish slavery in this District; and I have ever desired to see the national capital freed from the institution in some satisfactory way. Hence there has never been in my mind any question upon the subject except the one of expediency, arising in view of all the circumstances. If there be matters within and about this act which might have taken a course or shape more satisfactory to my judgment, I do not attempt to specify them. I am gratified that the two principles of compensation and colonization are both recognized and practically applied in the act.

31st. Fredericksburg is evacuated and the bridges destroyed by the enemy, and a small part of McDowell's command occupies this side of the Rappahannock, opposite the town. He purposes moving his whole force to that point.

May 1st. In answer to the resolution of the Senate in relation to Brigadier-General Stone, I have the honor to state that he was arrested and imprisoned under my general authority, and upon evidence which, whether he be guilty or innocent, required, as appears to me, such proceedings to be had against him for the public safety.

I deem it incompatible with the public interest, as also, perhaps, unjust to General Stone, to make a more particular statement of the evidence. He had not been tried because, in the state of military operations at the time of his arrest and since, the officers to constitute a court-martial and for witnesses could not be withdrawn from duty without serious injury to the service. He will be allowed a trial without any unnecessary delay; the charges and specifications will be furnished him in due season, and every facility for his defense will be afforded him by the War Department.

6th. (To Evangelical Lutherans.) Gentlemen: I welcome here the representatives of the Evangelical Lutherans of the United States. I accept with gratitude their assurances of the sympathy and support of that enlightened, influential, and loyal class of my fellow-citizens in an important crisis which involves, in my judgment, not only the civil and religious liberties of our own dear land, but in a large degree the civil and religious liberties of mankind in many countries and through many ages.

9th. (To McClellan.) I have just assisted the Secretary of War in framing part of a despatch to you relating to army corps, which despatch of course will have reached you before this will

I wish to say a few words to you privately on this subject. I ordered the army corps organization not only on the unanimous opinion of the twelve generals whom you had selected and assigned as generals of division, but also on the unanimous opinion of every military man I could get an opinion from (and every modern military book), yourself only excepted. Of course I did not on my own judgment pretend to understand the subject. I now think it indispensable for you to know how your struggle against it is received in quarters which we can not entirely disregard. It is looked upon as merely an effort to pamper one or two pets and to persecute and degrade their supposed rivals. I have had no word from Sumner, Heintzelman, or Keyes. The commanders of these corps are of course the three highest officers with you, but I am constantly told that you have no consultation or communication with them; that you consult and communicate with nobody but General Fitz-John Porter and perhaps General Franklin. I do not say these complaints are true or just, but at all events it is proper you should know of their existence. Do the commanders of corps disobey your orders in anything?

When you relieved General Hamilton of his command the other day, you thereby lost the confidence of at least one of your best friends in the Senate. And here let me say, not as applicable to you personally, that senators and representatives speak to me in their places as they please without question, and that officers of the Army must cease addressing insulting letters to them for taking no greater liberty with them.

General Hunter takes it upon himself to imitate Fremont and declares free slaves that have come within his lines.

17th. No commanding general shall do such a thing (issue an order of military emancipation), upon *my* responsibility, without consulting me.

18th. 2 P. M. (To McClellan.) The President is not willing to uncover the capital entirely, and it is believed that, even if this were prudent, it would require more time to effect a junction between your army and that of the Rappahannock by the way of the Potomac and York rivers than by a land march.

In order, therefore, to increase the strength of the attack upon Richmond at the earliest moment, General McDowell has been ordered to march upon that city by the shortest route.*

He is ordered, keeping himself always in position to save the capital from all possible attack, so to operate as to put his left wing in communication with your right wing, and you are instructed to co-operate so as to establish this communication as soon as possible.

By extending your right wing to the north of Richmond, it is believed that this communication can be safely established either north or south of the Pamunkey river.

19th. (Proclamation.) *Whereas* there appears in the public prints what purports to be a proclamation of Major-General Hunter, in the words and figures following, to-wit:

General Orders No. 11.

Headquarters Department of the South,
Hilton Head, Port Royal, S. C., May 9, 1862.

The three States of Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina comprising the Military Department of the South,† having deliberately declared themselves no longer under the protection of the United States of America, and having taken up arms against the said United States, it became a military necessity to declare martial law.

This was accordingly done on the 25th day of April, 1862. Slavery and martial law in a free country are altogether in-

*See note, p. 281.

†Coast operations were being carried on from a base established by the Navy at Hilton Head. The Department of the South was relatively a fiction.

compatible; the persons in these three States—Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina—heretofore held as slaves, are therefore declared forever free.

Signed, David Hunter:
Major-General Commanding.

(Official)
Edward W. Smith, *Acting Assistant Adjutant-General.*

And, whereas, the same is producing some excitement and misunderstanding, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, proclaim and declare that the Government of the United States had no knowledge, information, or belief of an intention on the part of General Hunter to issue such a proclamation; nor has it yet any authentic information that the document is genuine; and, further, that neither General Hunter, nor any other commander or person, has been authorized by the Government of the United States to make proclamation declaring the slaves of any State free, and that the supposed proclamation now in question, whether genuine or false, is altogether void so far as respects such a declaration. I further make known that, whether it be competent for me, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, to declare the slaves of any State or States free; and whether at any time, in any case, it shall have become a necessity indispensable to the maintenance of the Government to exercise such supposed power, are questions which, under my responsibility, I reserve to myself, and which I can not feel justified in leaving to the decision of commanders in the field . . . On the sixth day of March last, by special message, I recommended to Congress the adoption of a joint resolution as follows:

Resolved, That the United States ought to co-operate with any State which may adopt gradual abolishment of slavery, giving to such State pecuniary aid, to be used by such State, in its discretion, to compensate for the inconvenience, public and private, produced by such change of system.

The resolution in the language above quoted was adopted by large majorities in both branches of Congress, and now stands an authentic, definite, and solemn proposal of the Nation to the States and people most immediately interested in the subject matter. To the people of those States I now earnestly appeal. I do not argue—I beseech you to make arguments for yourselves. You can not, if you would, be blind to the signs of the times.

I beg of you a calm and enlarged consideration of them, ranging, if it may be, far above personal and partisan politics.

This proposal makes common cause for a common object, casting no reproaches upon any. It acts not the Pharisee. The change it contemplates would come gently as the dew of Heaven, not rending or wrecking anything. Will you not embrace it? So much good has not been done, by one effort, in all past time, as in the providence of God it is now your high privilege to do. May the vast future not have to lament that you have neglected it.

Jackson opens his famous "Valley Campaign," aiming to do just what he succeeds in doing—terrify Washington and prevent the concentration of the Federal forces before Richmond. Jackson's movements threaten the commands of General Banks and General Fremont.

24th. (To McClellan.) I left General McDowell's camp at dark last evening. Shields' command is there, but it is so worn that he can not move before Monday morning, the 26th. We have so thinned our line to get troops for other places, that it was broken yesterday at Front Royal, with a probable loss to us of one regiment infantry, two companies cavalry, putting General Banks in some peril.

The enemy's forces under General Anderson now opposing General McDowell's advance, have, as their line of supply and retreat, the road to Richmond.

If, in conjunction with McDowell's movement against Anderson, you could send a force from your right to cut off the enemy's supplies from Richmond, preserve the railroad bridges across the two forks of the Pamunkey, and intercept the enemy's retreat, you will prevent the army now opposed to you from receiving an accession of numbers of nearly 15,000 men; and if you succeed in saving the bridges you will secure a line of railroad for supplies in addition to the one you now have. Can you not do this almost as well as not while you are building the Chickahominy bridges? McDowell and Shields both say they can, and positively will, move Monday morning. I wish you to move cautiously and safely.

You will have command of McDowell, after he joins you, precisely as you indicated in your long despatch to us of the 21st.

1 P. M. Geary reports Jackson with 20,000 moving from Ashby's Gap by the Little River turnpike, through Aldie, toward Centerville. This, he says, is reliable. He is also informed of large forces south of him. We know a force of some 15,000 broke up Saturday night from in front of Fredericksburg and went we know not where.

4 P. M. (To General J. C. Fremont.) The exposed condition of General Banks makes his immediate relief a point of paramount importance. You are therefore directed by the President to move against Jackson at Harrisonburg, and operate against the enemy in such way as to relieve Banks. This movement must be made immediately. You will acknowledge the receipt of this order, and specify the hour it is received by you.

4 P. M. (To McClellan.) In consequence of General Banks' critical position, I have been compelled to suspend General McDowell's movements to join you.* The enemy are making a desperate push on Harper's Ferry, and we are trying

*See note, p. 281.

to throw General Fremont's force and part of General McDowell's in their rear.

5 P. M. (To General Samuel T. McDowell.) General Fremont has been ordered by telegraph to move from Franklin on Harrisonburg to relieve General Banks and capture or destroy Jackson's and Ewell's forces. You are instructed, laying aside for the present the movement on Richmond, to put 20,000 men in motion at once for the Shenandoah, moving on the line or in advance of the line of the Manassas Gap Railroad. Your object will be to capture the forces of Jackson and Ewell, either in cooperation with General Fremont, or, in case want of supplies or of transportation interferes with his movements, it is believed that the force which you move will be sufficient to accomplish this object alone. The information thus far received here makes it probable that if the enemy operate actively against General Banks, you will not be able to count upon much assistance from him, but may even have to release him. Reports received this moment are that Banks is fighting with Ewell eight miles from Winchester.

(To General H. W. Halleck.) Several despatches from Assistant Secretary Scott and one from Governor Morton asking reinforcements for you have been received. I beg you to be assured we do the best we can. I mean to cast no blame when I tell you each of our commanders along our line from Richmond to Corinth supposed himself to be confronted by numbers superior to his own. Under this pressure we thinned the line on the upper Potomac, until yesterday it was broken at heavy loss to us, and General Banks put in great peril, out of which he is not yet extricated, and may be actually captured. We need men to repair this breach, and have them not at hand. My dear general, I feel justified to rely very much on you. I believe you and the brave officers and men with you can and will get the victory at Corinth.

2 P. M. (To McClellan.) The enemy is moving north in

sufficient force to drive General Banks before him, in precisely what force we can not tell. He is also threatening Leesburg and Geary, on the Manassas Gap Railroad, from both north and south, in precisely what force we can not tell. I think the movement is a general and concerted one,* such as would not be if he was acting upon the purpose of a very desperate defense of Richmond. I think the time is near when you must either attack Richmond or give up the job and come to the defense of Washington.

Let me hear from you instantly.

(To General McClellan.) Can you not cut the Aquia Creek railroad? Also, what impression have you as to intrenched works for you to contend with in front of Richmond? Can you get near enough to throw shells into the city?

27th. (To General Fremont.) I see that you are at Moorefield. You were expressly ordered to march to Harrisonburg. What does this mean?

28th. (To Fremont.) The President directs you to halt at Moorefield and await orders, unless you hear of the enemy being in the general direction of Romney, in which case you will move upon him.

(To McDowell.) You say General Geary's scouts report that they find no enemy this side of the Blue Ridge. Neither do I. Have they been to the Blue Ridge looking for them?

5:40 P. M. (To McDowell.) I think the evidence now preponderates that Ewell and Jackson are still about Winchester. Assuming this, it is for you a question of legs. Put in all the speed you can. I have told Fremont as much, and directed him to drive at them as fast as possible. By the way, I suppose you know Fremont has got up to Moorefield, instead of going to Harrisonburg.

*This was a complete misapprehension and shows how entirely the Confederate ruse had succeeded. Jackson had with him only some 15,000 men.

The audacity of Jackson's swift movements completely mystify his antagonists. He strikes, disappears, and they know not what to do. And now Johnston reaps his advantage.

May 31st-June 1st. Battle of Seven Pines, or Fair Oaks. McClellan is brought to a standstill within four miles of Richmond. General Johnston, wounded, is succeeded by General Lee.

June 1st. (To McClellan.) You are probably engaged with the enemy. I suppose he made the attack. Stand well on your guard, hold all your ground, or yield only inch by inch and in good order. This morning we merge General Wool's department into yours, giving you command of the whole, and sending General Dix to Fort Monroe and General Wool to Fort McHenry.

We also send General Sigel to report to you for duty.

But Jackson has not finished his work in the valley. Renewed alarm at Washington.

(To McClellan.) Shields' advance came in collision with part of the enemy yesterday evening six miles from Front Royal, in a direction between Winchester and Strasburg, driving them back, capturing a few prisoners and one rifled cannon. Firing in that direction to-day, heard both from Harper's Ferry and Front Royal, indicates a probability that Fremont has met the enemy.

We have concluded to send General Sigel to Harper's Ferry, so that what I telegraphed you about him this morning is revoked. Dix goes to Fort Monroe to-night.

3rd. (To McClellan.) With these continuous rains I am very anxious about the Chickahominy—so close in your rear and crossing your line of communication. Please look to it.

6th. (To McDowell.) The President directs that Mc-

Call's division be sent by water to Major-General McClellan immediately, and that you place such force at Fredericksburg by the time McCall leaves there as may, in your judgment, be necessary to hold that place.

In respect to the operations of the residue of your force, the President reserves directions, to be given as soon as he determines.

9th. (To General N. P. Banks.) We are arranging a general plan for the valley of the Shenandoah, and in accordance with this you will move your main force to the Shenandoah at or opposite Front Royal as soon as possible.

10th. (To the Senate and House of Representatives.) I transmit to Congress a copy of a treaty for the suppression of the African slave trade, between the United States and her Britannic Majesty, signed in this city on the 7th of April last, and the ratifications of which were exchanged at London on the 20th ultimo.

15th. (To McClellan.) The night between your two late battles of Saturday and Sunday I went earnestly to work to find a way of putting General Wool's force under your control without wounding any one's feelings. But, after all, General Dix was a little hurt at being taken from an independent command and put in a dependent one. I could not help this without giving up the principal object of the move. So soon as you can (which I do not expect is yet), I wish you to give me the benefit of your suggestions as to how an independent command can be given him without detriment. The Secretary of War has turned over to me your despatch about sending McDowell to you by water instead of by land. I now fear he can not get to you either way in time. Shields' division has got so terribly out of shape, out at elbows, and out at toes, that it will require a long time to get it in again. I expect to see McDowell within a day or two, when I will again talk with him about the mode of moving.

After a fortnight of heavy rain, clearing weather makes it possible for Lee to attack McClellan. He and Davis decide upon another ruse for the purpose of further alarming Washington and increasing the nervousness of McClellan, already near the point of exhaustion. It is intended to give the impression that large reinforcements are moving to the Valley of Virginia. McClellan is deceived. He concludes that the Confederates have great reserves of men. But Lincoln is not deceived.

19th. (To McClellan.) Yours of last night just received and for which I thank you. If large reinforcements are going from Richmond to Jackson it proves one of two things, either that they are very strong at Richmond or do not mean to defend the place desperately.

On reflection, I do not see how reinforcements from Richmond to Jackson could be in Gordonsville, as reported by the Frenchman and your deserters. Have not all been sent to deceive?

(To Fremont.) We have no indefinite power of sending reinforcements; so that we are compelled rather to consider the proper disposal of the forces we have than of those we could wish to have. We may be able to send you some dribs by degrees, but I do not believe we can do more. As you alone beat Jackson last Sunday, I argue that you are stronger than he is to-day, unless he has been reinforced; and that he can not have been materially reinforced, because such reinforcement could only have come from Richmond, and he is much more likely to go to Richmond than Richmond is to come to him. Neither is very likely. I think Jackson's game—his assigned work—now is to magnify the accounts of his numbers and reports of his movements, and thus by constant alarms keep three or four times as many of our troops away from Richmond as his own force amounts to. Thus he helps his friends at Richmond three or four times as much as if he were there. Our game is not to allow this.

20th. (To McClellan.) We have this morning sent you a despatch of General Sigel corroborative of the proposition that Jackson is being reinforced from Richmond. This may be reality, and yet may only be contrivance for deception, and to determine which is perplexing. If we knew it was not true, we could send you some more force; but as the case stands we do not think we safely can. Still, we will watch the signs and do so if possible.

24th. Lincoln, accompanied by General Pope, suddenly makes a flying visit to West Point, where General Scott is living in retirement. Scott advises 1, that the forces under Fremont and Banks are adequate to protect Washington; 2, that forces stationed at Fredericksburg are entirely out of position; 3, that a victory before Richmond would end the war.

26th. Washington. Ordered—1. The forces under Major-Generals Fremont, Banks, and McDowell, including the troops now under Brigadier-General Sturgis at Washington, shall be consolidated and form one army, to be called the Army of Virginia.

2. The command of the Army of Virginia is especially assigned to Major-General John Pope, as commanding general.*

3. The Army of Virginia shall operate in such manner as while protecting western Virginia and the national capital from danger or insult, it shall in the speediest manner attack and overcome the rebel forces under Jackson† and Ewell, threaten the enemy in the direction of Charlottesville, and

*Pope had made a popular reputation by his services on the Mississippi. Having been called to Washington on military business he ingratiated himself with the Committee on the Conduct of the War by insinuations against McClellan. Lincoln took him up and, for a time, appears to have believed in him.

†At this moment, Jackson, having accomplished his purpose in the Valley, had secretly withdrawn his whole force to the vicinity of Richmond.

render the most effective aid to relieve General McClellan and capture Richmond.

Lee attacks McClellan at Mechanicsville, opening the Seven Days before Richmond.

27th. (To McClellan.) Your three despatches of yesterday in relation to the affair, ending with the statement that you completely succeeded in making your point, are very gratifying.

The later one of 6:15, suggesting the probability of your being overwhelmed by 200,000,* and talking of where the responsibility will belong, pains me very much. I give you all I can, and act on the presumption that you will do the best you can with what you have, while you continue, ungenerously, I think, to assume that I could give you more if I would. I have omitted and shall omit no opportunity to send you reinforcements whenever I possibly can.

P. S. General Pope thinks if you fall back it would be much better toward York River than toward the James. As Pope now has charge of the capital, please confer with him through the telegraph.

28th. (To General H. W. Halleck.) The enemy have concentrated in such force at Richmond as to render it absolutely necessary, in the opinion of the President, for you immediately to detach 25,000 of your force, and forward it by the nearest and quickest route by way of Baltimore and Washington, to Richmond. It is believed that the quickest route, would be by way of Columbus, Kentucky, and up the Ohio River. But in detaching your force the President directs that it be done in such a way as to enable you to hold your ground and not interfere with the movement against Chattanooga and

*Characteristic of McClellan; his force of 109,000 was opposed by 87,000 under Lee.

East Tennessee. This condition being observed, the forces to be detached and the routes they are to be sent are left to your own judgment.

The direction to send these forces immediately is rendered imperative by a serious reverse suffered by General McClellan before Richmond yesterday, the full extent of which is not yet known.

(To Major-General Burnside.) We have intelligence that General McClellan has been attacked in large force and compelled to fall back toward the James River. We are not advised of his exact condition, but the President directs that you shall send him all the reinforcements from your command to the James River that you can safely do without abandoning your own position. Let it be infantry entirely, as he said yesterday that he had cavalry enough.

(To McClellan.) Save your army, at all events. Will send reinforcements as fast as we can. Of course they can not reach you to-day, to-morrow, or next day. I have not said you were ungenerous for saying you needed reinforcements. I thought you were ungenerous in assuming that I did not send them as fast as I could. I feel any misfortune to you and your army quite as keenly as you feel it yourself. If you have had a drawn battle, or a repulse, it is the price we pay for the enemy not being in Washington. We protected Washington, and the enemy concentrated on you. Had we stripped Washington, he would have been upon us before the troops could have gotten to you. Less than a week ago you notified us that reinforcements were leaving Richmond to come in front of us. It is the nature of the case, and neither you nor the government is to blame. Please tell at once the present condition and aspect of things.

Convinced that McClellan is suffering a terrible defeat and that the Federal fortunes are in desperate plight, Lincoln,

nevertheless, fears to make an open appeal for fresh troops lest a general panic ensue. He sends Seward on a confidential mission to Governors of States arming him with a statement of facts as the President sees them.

My view of the present condition of the war is about as follows:

The evacuation of Corinth and our delay by the flood in Chickahominy have enabled the enemy to concentrate too much force in Richmond for McClellan to successfully attack. In fact there soon will be no substantial rebel force anywhere else. But if we send all the force from here to McClellan, the enemy will, before we can know of it, send a force from Richmond and take Washington. Or if a large part of the western army be brought here to McClellan, they will let us have Richmond, and retake Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, etc. What should be done is to hold what we have in the West, open the Mississippi, and take Chattanooga and East Tennessee without more. A reasonable force should in every event be kept about Washington for its protection. Then let the country give us 100,000 new troops in the shortest possible time, which, added to McClellan, directly or indirectly, will take Richmond without endangering any other place which we now hold, and will substantially end the war. I expect to maintain this contest until successful, or till I die, or am conquered, or my term expires, or Congress or the country forsake me; and I would publicly appeal to the country for this new force were it not that I fear a general panic and stampede would follow, so hard it is to have a thing understood as it really is. I think the new force should be all, or nearly all, infantry, principally because such can be raised most cheaply and quickly.

(To General J. A. Dix.) Communication with McClellan by White House is cut off. Strain every nerve to open communication with him by James River, or any other way you can.

30th. We are yet without communication with General McClellan, and this absence of news is our point of anxiety. Up to the latest point to which we are posted he effected everything in such exact accordance with his plan, contingently announced to us before the battle began, that we feel justified to hope that he has not failed since. He had a severe engagement in getting the part of his army on this side of the Chickahominy over to the other side, in which the enemy lost certainly as much as we did.

3 P. M. (To General H. W. Halleck.) The Chattanooga expedition must not on any account be given up. The President regards that and the movement against East Tennessee as one of the most important movements of the war, and its occupation nearly as important as the capture of Richmond. He is not pleased with the tardiness of the movement toward Chattanooga, and directs that no force be sent here if you can not do it without breaking up the operations against that point and East Tennessee.

Battle of Malvern Hill, July 1st, closes the Seven Days Battle. McClellan has retreated to a secure position on the James.

Meanwhile negotiations between the White House and the Governors of various States have led to a communication from the Governors to the President on which Lincoln now takes action.

Fully concurring in the wisdom of the views expressed to me in so patriotic a manner by you, in the communication of the twenty-eighth of June,* I have decided to call into the service an additional force of 300,000 men. I suggest and recommend that the troops should be chiefly of infantry. An order fixing the quotas for the respective States will be issued by the War Department to-morrow.

*In response to his letter of the same date.

(To General McClellan.) It is impossible to reinforce you for your present emergency. If we had a million of men we could not get them to you in time. We have not the men to send. If you are not strong enough to face the enemy, you must find a place of security, and wait, rest, and repair. Maintain your ground if you can, but save the army at all events, even if you fall back to Fort Monroe. We still have strength enough in the country, and will bring it out.

2nd. (To McClellan.) Your despatch of Tuesday morning induces me to hope your army is having some rest. In this hope allow me to reason with you a moment. When you ask for 50,000 men to be promptly sent you, you surely labor under some gross mistake of fact. Recently you sent papers showing your disposal of forces made last spring for the defense of Washington, and advising a return to that plan. I find it included in and about Washington 75,000 men. Now, please be assured I have not men enough to fill that very plan by 15,000.

If you think you are not strong enough to take Richmond just now, I do not ask you to try just now. Save the army, material and personal, and I will strengthen it for the offensive again as fast as I can. The governors of eighteen States offer me a new levy of 300,000, which I accept.

(To General H. W. Halleck.) Please tell me, could you not make me a flying visit for consultation without endangering the service in your department?

3rd. I should not want the half of the 300,000 new troops if I could have them now. If I had 50,000 additional troops here now, I believe I could substantially close the war in two weeks. But time is everything, and if I get 50,000 new men in a month, I shall have lost 20,000 old ones during the same month, having gained only 30,000, with the difference between old and new troops still against me.

At last advices General Halleck thinks he can not send reinforcements without endangering all he has gained.

[The President] is of opinion that under the law of Congress they [fugitive slaves]* can not be sent back to their masters; that in common humanity they must not be permitted to suffer for want of food, shelter, or other necessaries of life; that to this end they should be provided for by the quartermaster's and commissary's departments; and that those who are capable of labor should be set to work and paid reasonable wages.

In directing this to be done, the President does not mean, at present, to settle any general rule in respect to slaves or slavery, but simply to provide for the particular case under the circumstances in which it is now presented.

4th. (To McClellan.) Save the army, first, where you are, if you can; and secondly, by removal, if you must. You, on the ground, must be the judge as to which you will attempt, and of the means for effecting it. I but give it as my opinion that with the aid of the gunboats and reinforcements mentioned above, you can hold your present position; provided, and so long as you can keep the James River open below you.

5th. (To McClellan.) A thousand thanks for the relief your two despatches of twelve and one P. M. yesterday, gave me. Be assured the heroism and skill of yourself and officers and men is, and forever will be, appreciated.

If you can hold your present position, we shall have the enemy yet.

9th. Lincoln visits McClellan at Harrison's Landing on the James and holds a sort of informal court of inquisition on the conduct of the campaign. He does not ask for advice. His

*Slaves who had escaped from Confederate masters and taken refuge with Federal troops, afforded the Abolitionists another issue with the President. The law referred to is the First Confiscation Act providing for the appropriation of property of "rebels."

*temper and attitude are profoundly different from what they were in the conference with the generals on March 7th.**

11th. Ordered that Major-General Henry W. Halleck be assigned to command the whole land forces of the United States, as General-in-Chief, and that he repair to this capital so soon as he can with safety to the positions and operations within the department now under his charge.

He concludes that the desperate situation in which he is now placed compels him to shift the issue of the war and make emancipation his avowed aim. His first step is another appeal to the Border States.

12th. (To Border-State Representatives.) Believing that you of the Border States hold more power for good than any other equal number of members of Congress I feel it a duty which I can not justifiably waive to make this appeal to you.

I intend no reproach or complaint when I assure you that, in my opinion, if you all had voted for the resolution in the gradual-emancipation message of last March, the war would now be substantially ended. And the plan therein proposed is yet one of the most potent and swift means of ending it. Let the States which are in rebellion see definitely and certainly that in no event will the States you represent ever join

*The contrast in these two conferences can not be over-emphasized. During the four months intervening Lincoln had passed through a transformation or something very near to that. The month of June is the turning point of his career. Some change in him was coming rapidly forward though just what the change was and just how it was accomplished are matters of conjecture. The interview with Scott seems to form a crucial moment. It is to be noted that General Pope, who accompanied him to West Point, was placed in high command immediately upon their return. When Lincoln visited McClellan at Harrison's Landing all the timidity, the hesitation, that was conspicuous in him four months before had vanished. Previous to this time there is much in his attitude to life that is problematical. From this time forward there is very little. A great genius has found himself, has acquired confidence in himself, and henceforth will be master of his own house.

their proposed confederacy, and they can not much longer maintain the contest. But you can not divest them of their hope to ultimately have you with them so long as you show a determination to perpetuate the institution within your own States.

I do not speak of emancipation at once, but of a decision at once to emancipate gradually. Room in South America for colonization can be obtained cheaply, and in abundance, and when numbers shall be large enough to be company and encouragement for one another, the freed people will not be so reluctant to go.

I am pressed with a difficulty not yet mentioned—one which threatens division among those who, united, are none too strong. An instance of it is known to you. General Hunter is an honest man. He was, and I hope still is, my friend. I valued him none the less for his agreeing with me in the general wish that all men everywhere could be free. He proclaimed all men free within certain States, and I repudiated the proclamation. He expected more good and less harm from the measure than I could believe would follow. Yet, in repudiating it, I gave dissatisfaction, if not offense, to many whose support the country can not afford to lose. And this is not the end of it. The pressure in this direction is still upon me, and is increasing. By conceding what I now ask, you can relieve me, and, much more, can relieve the country, in this important point.

Our common country is in great peril, demanding the loftiest views and boldest action to bring it speedy relief. Once relieved, its form of government is saved to the world, its beloved history and cherished memories are vindicated, and its happy future fully assured and rendered inconceivably grand. To you, more than to any others, the privilege is given to assure that happiness and swell that grandeur, and to link your own names therewith forever.

13th. The Border-State Representatives having refused to endorse a policy of compensated emancipation, Lincoln discloses to Seward and Welles his conclusion that he must take up the policy of emancipating slaves in seceded states by military order. This will amount to giving the war a new issue. His aim in so doing is partly to kindle new enthusiasm at home, but even more, to enlist the support of the Liberal party throughout the world. The European Liberals have little interest in American nationality. Since the great Confederate success there is imminent danger that England and France may recognize the Confederate States. By shifting the issue to emancipation powerful influences in both countries will be enlisted against recognition. Both Seward and Welles agree with him.

Things had gone on from bad to worse, until I felt that we had reached the end of our rope on the plan of operations we had been pursuing; that we had about played our last card, and must change our tactics or lose the game. I now determined upon the adoption of the emancipation policy.

(To McClellan.) I am told that over 160,000 men have gone into your army on the Peninsula. When I was with you the other day we made out 86,500 remaining, leaving 73,500 to be accounted for. I believe 23,500 will cover all the killed, wounded, and missing in all your battles and skirmishes, leaving 50,000 who have left otherwise. Not more than 5,000 of these have died, leaving 45,000 of your army still alive and not with it. I believe that half or two-thirds of them are fit for duty to-day. Have you any more perfect knowledge of this than I have? If I am right and you have these men with you, you could go into Richmond in the next three days. How can they be got to you, and how can they be prevented from getting away in such manner for the future?

14th. (To Halleck.) I am very anxious—almost impatient—to have you here. Have due regard to what you leave behind. When can you reach here?

Before announcing military emancipation he prepares an escape for any state that will accept his terms.

Fellow-citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives: Herewith is a draft of a bill to compensate any State which may abolish slavery within its limits, the passage of which, substantially as presented, I respectfully and earnestly recommend.

17th. The traitor against the General Government forfeits his slave at least as justly as he does any other property, and he forfeits both to the government against which he offends. The government, so far as there can be ownership, thus owns the forfeited slaves, and the question for Congress in regard to them is, "Shall they be made free or be sold to new masters?" I perceive no objection to Congress deciding in advance that they shall be free. To the high honor of Kentucky as I am informed, she has been the owner of some slaves by escheat, and she sold none, but liberated all. I hope the same is true of some other States. Indeed, I do not believe it would be physically possible for the General Government to return persons so circumstanced to actual slavery. I believe there would be physical resistance to it which could neither be turned aside by argument nor driven away by force.

22nd. Without consultation with, or the knowledge of, the Cabinet, I prepared the original draft of the proclamation, and, after much anxious thought, called a Cabinet meeting upon the subject. All were present, excepting Mr. Blair, the Postmaster-General, who was absent at the opening of the discussion, but came in subsequently. I said to the Cabinet

that I had resolved upon this step, and had not called them together to ask their advice, but to lay the subject-matter of a proclamation before them; suggestions as to which would be in order after they had heard it read. Mr. Lovejoy was in error when he informed you that it excited no comment excepting on the part of Secretary Seward. Various suggestions were offered. Secretary Chase wished the language stronger in reference to the arming of the blacks.

Mr. Blair, after he came in, deprecated the policy on the ground that it would cost the administration the fall elections. Nothing, however, was offered that I had not already fully anticipated and settled in my own mind, until Secretary Seward spoke. He said in substance, "Mr. President, I approve of the proclamation, but I question the expediency of its issue at this juncture. The depression of the public mind, consequent upon our repeated reverses, is so great that I fear the effect of so important a story. It may be viewed as the last measure of an exhausted government, a cry for help; the government stretching forth its hands to Ethiopia, instead of Ethiopia stretching forth her hands to the government." His idea was that it would be considered our last shriek on the retreat. This was his precise expression. "Now," continued Mr. Seward, "while I approve the measure, I suggest, sir, that you postpone its issue, until you can give it to the country supported by military success, instead of issuing it, as would be the case now, upon the greatest disasters of the war!" The wisdom of the view of the Secretary of State struck me with very great force. It was an aspect of the case that, in all my thought upon the subject, I had entirely overlooked. The result was that I put the draft of the proclamation aside, waiting for a victory.

22nd. First: Ordered that military commanders within the States of Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, and Arkansas in an or-

derly manner seize and use any property, real or personal, which may be necessary or convenient for their several commands, for supplies, or for other military purposes; and that while property may be destroyed for proper military objects, none shall be destroyed in wantonness or malice.

Second: That military and naval commanders shall employ as laborers, within and from said States, so many persons of African descent as can be advantageously used for military or naval purposes, giving them reasonable wages for their labor.

28th. Mr. Durant (of Louisiana) complains that in various ways the relation of master and slave is disturbed by the presence of our army, and he considers it particularly vexatious that this, in part, is done under cover of an act of Congress, while constitutional guarantees are suspended on the plea of military necessity. The truth is, that what is done and omitted about slaves is done and omitted on the same military necessity. It is a military necessity to have men and money, and we can get neither in sufficient numbers or amounts if we keep from, or drive from, our lines slaves coming to them. Mr. Durant can not be ignorant of the pressure in this direction, nor of my efforts to hold it within bounds till he and such as he shall have time to help themselves.

He speaks of no duty—apparently thinks of none—resting upon Union men. He even thinks it injurious to the Union cause that they should be restrained in trade and passage without taking sides. They are to touch neither a sail nor a pump, but to be merely passengers—deadheads at that—to be carried snug and dry throughout the storm, and safely landed right side up. Nay, more; even a mutineer is to go untouched, lest these sacred passengers receive an accidental wound. Of course the rebellion will never be suppressed in Louisiana if the professed Union men there will neither help to do it nor permit the government to do it without their help. Now, I

think the true remedy is very different from what is suggested by Mr. Durant. It does not lie in rounding the rough angles of the war, but in removing the necessity for the war.

I am in no boastful mood. I shall not do more than I can, and I shall do all I can, to save the Government, which is my sworn duty as well as my personal inclination. I shall do nothing in malice. What I deal with is too vast for malicious dealing.

31st. Broken eggs can not be mended; but Louisiana has nothing to do now but to take her place in the Union as it was, barring the already broken eggs. The sooner she does so, the smaller will be the amount of that which will be past mending. This government can not much longer play a game in which it stakes all, and its enemies stake nothing. Those enemies must understand that they can not experiment for ten years trying to destroy the government, and if they fail still come back into the Union unhurt.

August 4th. The moral effect was the worst of the affair before Richmond, and that has run its course downward. We are now at a stand, and shall soon be rising again, as we hope. I believe it is true that in men and material the enemy suffered more than we in that series of conflicts, while it is certain he is less able to bear it.

6th. There has been a very wide-spread attempt to have a quarrel between General McClellan and the Secretary of War. Now I occupy a position that enables me to observe that these two gentlemen are not nearly so deep in the quarrel as some pretending to be their friends. General McClellan's attitude is such that, in the very selfishness of his nature, he can not but wish to be successful, and I hope he will—and the Secretary of War is in precisely the same situation. If the military commanders in the field can not be successful, not only the Secretary of War, but myself—for the time being the master of them both—can not but be failures.

14th. (To a Deputation of Colored Men.) Having all been seated, the President, after a few preliminary observations, informed them that a sum of money had been appropriated by Congress, and placed at his disposition, for the purpose of aiding the colonization in some country of the people, or a portion of them, of African descent, thereby making it his duty, as it had for a long time been his inclination, to favor that cause. And why, he asked, should the people of your race be colonized, and where? Why should they leave this country? This is, perhaps, the first question for proper consideration. You and we are different races. We have between us a broader difference than exists between almost any other two races. Whether it is right or wrong I need not discuss; but this physical difference is a great disadvantage to us both, as I think. Your race suffers very greatly, many of them, by living among us, while ours suffers from your presence. In a word, we suffer on each side. If this is admitted, it affords a reason, at least, why we should be separated.

The place I am thinking about for a colony is in Central America. It is nearer to us than Liberia—not much more than one-fourth as far as Liberia, and within seven days' run by steamers. Unlike Liberia, it is a great line of travel—it is a highway. The country is a very excellent one for any people, and with great natural resources and advantages, and especially because of the similarity of climate with your native soil, thus being suited to your physical condition. The particular place I have in view is to be a great highway from the Atlantic or Caribbean Sea to the Pacific Ocean, and this particular place has all the advantages for a colony. On both sides there are harbors—among the finest in the world. Again, there is evidence of very rich coal-mines. A certain amount of coal is valuable in any country, and there may be more than enough for the wants of any country. Why I attach so much importance to coal is, it will afford an opportunity to the inhab-

itants for immediate employment till they get ready to settle permanently in their homes. If you take colonists where there is no good land, there is a bad show; and so where there is nothing to cultivate and of which to make a farm. But if something is started so that you can get your daily bread as soon as you reach there, it is a great advantage. Coal land is the best thing I know of with which to commence an enterprise.

22nd. (To Horace Greeley.) I have just read yours of the 19th instant, addressed to myself through the *New York Tribune.** If there be in it any statements or assumptions of fact which I may know to be erroneous, I do not, now and here, controvert them.

If there be in it any inferences which I may believe to be falsely drawn, I do not, now and here, argue against them.

If there be perceptible in it an impatient and dictatorial tone, I waive it in deference to an old friend whose heart I have always supposed to be right.

As to the policy I "seem to be pursuing," as you say, I have not meant to leave any one in doubt. I would save the Union. I would save it the shortest way under the Constitution.

The sooner the national authority can be restored, the nearer the Union will be the Union as it was.

If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them.

If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do

*An article entitled *The Prayer of Twenty Millions* demanding unconditional abolition.

it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that.

What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union.

I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall do more whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause.

I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors, and I shall adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views.

I have here stated my purpose according to my view of official duty, and I intend no modification of my oft-expressed personal wish that all men everywhere could be free.

*23rd. Halleck arrives at Washington and assumes the rôle of commanding general.**

26th. (To Reverdy Johnson.) It seems the Union feeling in Louisiana is being crushed out by the course of General Phelps. Please pardon me for believing that is a false pretense. The people of Louisiana—all intelligent people everywhere—know full well that I never had a wish to touch the foundations of their society, or any right of theirs. With perfect knowledge of this they forced a necessity upon me to send armies among them, and it is their own fault, not mine, that they are annoyed by the presence of General Phelps. They also know the remedy; know how to be cured of General Phelps. Remove the necessity of his presence. And might it not be well for them to consider whether they have not already had time enough to do this? If they can conceive of anything worse than General Phelps within my power, would they not better be looking out for it?

*Halleck was far too cautious for his high position. Very soon he became a figurehead. See p. 334.

I am a patient man, always willing to forgive on the Christian terms of repentance; and also to give ample time for repentance. Still, I must save this government, if possible. What I can not do, of course I will not do; but it may as well be understood, once for all, that I shall not surrender this game leaving any available card unplayed.

Pope with his Army of Virginia moves directly south from Washington. The Army of the Potomac on the advice of Halleck, is being brought back by water to its old position in front of the capital, with a view to combining it with Pope's forces. McClellan is virtually, though not formally, superseded by Pope.

4:10 P. M. (To McClellan.)* Yours of to-day just received. I think your first alternative—to-wit, "to concentrate all our available forces to open communication with Pope," is the right one, but I wish not to control. That I now leave to General Halleck, aided by your counsels.

Pope is disastrously defeated, August 29th-30th in the battle of Manassas (Second Bull Run).

September 2nd. Lincoln informs Cabinet he has asked McClellan to resume command in the place of Pope.

(To John Hay.) He [McClellan] has acted badly in this matter [of his relations with Pope] but we must use what tools we have. There is no man in this army who can man these fortifications and lick these troops of ours into shape half as well as he. Unquestionably, he has acted badly toward Pope; he wanted him to fail. That is unpardonable, but he is too useful now to sacrifice.

*His forces are passing back into central Virginia via the Potomac. His enemies afterward accused him of not making proper haste in coming to the aid of Pope. Lee, the moment the Army of the Potomac was recalled, prepared to move across Virginia and strike Pope.

4th. Lee crosses the Potomac, causing wild alarm in Pennsylvania.

12th. (To Governor Curtin.) Your despatch asking for 80,000 disciplined troops to be sent to Pennsylvania is received. Please consider we have not to exceed 80,000 disciplined troops, properly so called, this side of the mountains; and most of them, with many of the new regiments, are now close in the rear of the enemy supposed to be invading Pennsylvania. Start half of them to Harrisburg, and the enemy will turn upon and beat the remaining half, and then reach Harrisburg before the part going there, and beat it too when it comes. The best possible security for Pennsylvania is putting the strongest force possible in the enemy's rear.

While Lee is in Maryland and a crisis is at hand, the Abolitionists, having no suspicion of Lincoln's real intention, make another attempt to force him into a corner. He uses the occasion to "feel" the country, playing advocatus diaboli against his secret purpose.

13th. (To a Committee from the Religious Denominations of Chicago, asking the President to issue a Proclamation of Emancipation.) I am approached with the most opposite opinions and advice, and that by religious men, who are equally certain that they represent the Divine will. I am sure that either the one or the other class is mistaken in that belief, and perhaps in some respects both. I hope it will not be irreverent for me to say that if it is probable that God would reveal His will to others, on a point so connected with my duty, it might be supposed He would reveal it directly to me; for, unless I am more deceived in myself than I often am, it is my earnest desire to know the will of Providence in this matter. And if I can learn what it is, I will do it!

What good would a proclamation of emancipation from me do, especially as we are now situated? I do not want to issue a document that the whole world will see must necessarily be inoperative, like the Pope's bull against the comet! Would my word free the slaves, when I can not even enforce the Constitution in the rebel States?

I raise no objections against it on legal or constitutional grounds, for, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, in time of war I suppose I have a right to take any measure which may best subdue the enemy; nor do I urge objections of a moral nature, in view of possible consequences of insurrection and massacre at the South. I view this matter as a practical war measure, to be decided on according to the advantages or disadvantages it may offer to the suppression of the rebellion.

I will also concede that emancipation would help us in Europe, and convince them that we are incited by something more than ambition.

I have not decided against a proclamation of liberty to the slaves, but hold the matter under advisement; and I can assure you that the subject is on my mind, by day and night, more than any other. Whatever shall appear to be God's will, I will do.

14th. (To General H. G. Wright—at Cincinnati.) Thanks for your despatch. Can you not pursue the retreating enemy, [who have made a raid in Kentucky while Lee was moving northward] and relieve Cumberland Gap?

15th. (To General G. B. McClellan.) Your despatch of to-day received. God bless you, and all with you. Destroy the rebel army if possible.

16th: noon. (To Governor Curtin, at Harrisburg.) What do you hear from General McClellan's army? We have nothing from him to-day.

2:35 P. M. Since telegraphing you, despatch came from General McClellan, dated seven o'clock this morning. Noth-

ing of importance happened to him yesterday. This morning he was up with the enemy at Sharpsburg, and waiting for heavy fog to rise.

17th. Antietam-Sharpsburg. This dreadful battle is interpreted by the North as a victory, and Lincoln at once prepares to issue the Emancipation Proclamation.

21st. From time to time I added or changed a line, [of the Emancipation Proclamation] touching it up here and there, anxiously watching the progress of events. Finally came the week of the battle of Antietam. I determined to wait no longer. The news came, I think, on Wednesday, that the advantage was on our side. I was then staying at the Soldiers' Home [three miles out of Washington]. Here I finished writing the second draft of the preliminary proclamation; came up on Sunday; called the Cabinet together to hear it and it was published on the following Monday.

22nd. (At a Cabinet meeting.) Gentlemen, I have, as you are aware, thought a great deal about the relation of this war to slavery; and you all remember that several weeks ago I read you an order I had prepared on this subject, which, on account of objections made by some of you, was not issued. Ever since, my mind has been much occupied with this subject and I have thought all along that the time for acting on it might probably come. I think the time has come now. I wish it was a better time. I wish that we were in a better condition. The action of the army against the Rebels has not been quite what I should have liked. But they have been driven out of Maryland; and Pennsylvania is no longer in danger of invasion. When the Rebel army was at Frederick I determined, as soon as it should be driven out of Maryland, to issue a proclamation of emancipation, such as I thought most likely to be useful. I said nothing to any one, but I made

the promise to myself, and (hesitating a little) to my Maker. The Rebel army is now driven out and I am going to fulfill that promise. I have got you together to hear what I have written down. I do not wish your advice about the main matter, for that I have determined for myself. This I say without intending anything but respect for any one of you. But I already know the views of each on this question. They have been heretofore expressed, and I have considered them as thoroughly and as carefully as I can. What I have written is that which my reflections have determined me to say. I must do the best I can and bear the responsibility of taking the course which I feel I ought to take.

(A Proclamation.) I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America, and Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy thereof, do hereby proclaim and declare that hereafter, as heretofore, the war will be prosecuted for the object of practically restoring the constitutional relation between the United States and each of the States, and the people thereof, in which States that relation is or may be suspended or disturbed.

That it is my purpose, upon the next meeting of Congress, to again recommend the adoption of a practical measure tendering pecuniary aid to the free acceptance or rejection of all slave States, so called, the people whereof may not then be in rebellion against the United States, and which States may then have voluntarily adopted, or thereafter may voluntarily adopt, immediate or gradual abolishment of slavery within their respective limits; and that the effort to colonize persons of African descent with their consent upon this continent or elsewhere, with the previously obtained consent of the governments existing there, will be continued.

That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held

as slaves within any State or designated part of a State the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

And the Executive will in due time recommend that all citizens of the United States who shall have remained loyal thereto, throughout the rebellion, shall (upon the restoration of the constitutional relation between the United States and their respective States and people, if that relation shall have been superseded or disturbed) be compensated for all losses by acts of the United States, including the loss of slaves.

24th. A proclamation making all persons discouraging enlistment in the army subject to martial law and suspending so far as they are concerned the writ of habeas corpus.

27th. Major Key and Major Turner appear before me. Major Turner says: "As I remember it, the conversation was: 'Why we did not bag them after the battle of Sharpsburg?' Major Key's reply was. 'That was not the game; that we should tire the rebels out and ourselves; that was the only way the Union could be preserved, we must come together fraternally, and slavery be saved.'" On cross-examination Major Turner says he has frequently heard Major Key converse in regard to the present troubles, and never heard him utter a sentiment unfavorable to the maintenance of the Union. He has never uttered anything which he, Major T., would call disloyalty. The particular conversation detailed was a private one.

In my view it is wholly inadmissable for any gentleman holding a military commission from the United States to ut-

ter such sentiments as Major Key is within proved to have done. Therefore, let Major John J. Key be forthwith dismissed from the military service of the United States.

28th. It is known to some that, while I hope something from the proclamation, my expectations are not as sanguine as are those of some friends. The time for its effect southward had not come; but northward the effect should be instantaneous. It is six days old, and while commendation in newspapers and by distinguished individuals is all that a vain man could wish, the stocks have declined, and troops come forward more slowly than ever. This, looked soberly in the face, is not very satisfactory.

I happened to be placed, being a humble instrument in the hands of our Heavenly Father, as I am, and as we all are, to work out His great purposes, I have desired that all my works and acts may be according to His will, and that it might be so, I have sought His aid; but if, after endeavoring to do my best in the light which He affords me, I find my efforts fail, I must believe that for some purpose unknown to me, He wills it otherwise. If I had had my way, this war would never have been commenced. If I had been allowed my way, this war would have been ended before this; but we find it continues and we must believe that He permits it for some wise purpose of His own, mysterious and unknown to us; and though with our limited understandings we may not be able to comprehend it, yet we can not but believe that He who made the world still governs it.*

30th. The will of God prevails. In great contests each party claims to act in accordance with the will of God. Both may be, and one must be, wrong. God can not be for and against the same thing at the same time. In the present civil

*In this period of his life Lincoln thought much upon religious questions and discussed them freely with his intimates. He was a regular attendant of the New York Avenue Presbyterian Church.

war it is quite possible that God's purpose is something different from the purpose of either party; and yet the human instrumentalities, working just as they do, are of the best adaptation to effect His purpose. I am almost ready to say that this is probably true; that God wills this contest, and wills that it shall not end yet. By His mere great power on the minds of the now contestants, He could have either saved or destroyed the Union without a human contest. Yet the contest began. And, having begun, He could give the final victory to either side any day. Yet the contest proceeds.

October 4th. (Remarks at Frederick, Maryland.) In my present position it is hardly proper for me to make speeches. Every word is so closely noted that it will not do to make foolish ones, and I can not be expected to be prepared to make sensible ones. If I were as I have been for most of my life, I might, perhaps, talk nonsense to you for half an hour, and it wouldn't hurt anybody. As it is, I can only return thanks for the compliment paid our cause. Please accept sincere thanks for the compliment to our country.

6th. (To McClellan, who has greatly disturbed the President by failing to pursue Lee.) The President directs that you cross the Potomac and give battle to the enemy, or drive him south. Your army must move now, while the roads are good.

13th. (To McClellan.) You remember my speaking to you of what I called your over-cautiousness. Are you not over-cautious when you assume that you can not do what the enemy is constantly doing? Should you not claim to be at least his equal in prowess, and act upon the claim?

As I understand, you telegraphed General Halleck that you can not subsist your army at Winchester unless the railroad from Harper's Ferry to that point be put in working order. But the enemy does not subsist his army at Winchester, at a distance nearly twice as great from railroad transportation as you would have to do without the railroad last named.

Again, one of the standard maxims of war, as you know, is to "operate upon the enemy's communications as much as possible without exposing your own." You seem to act as if this applies *against* you, but can not apply in your *favor*. Change positions with the enemy, and think you not he would break your communication with Richmond within the next twenty-four hours?

If he should move northward, I would follow him closely, holding his communications. If he should prevent our seizing his communications, and move toward Richmond, I would press closely to him, fight him if a favorable opportunity should present, and at least try to beat him to Richmond on the inside track. I say "try"; if we never try, we shall never succeed. If he makes a stand at Winchester, moving neither north nor south, I would fight him there, on the idea that if we can not beat him when he bears the wastage of coming to us, we never can when we bear the wastage of going to him.

In the West, the success of the Federal armies has placed the State of Louisiana under Federal control.

14th. (To General B. F. Butler and others.) The bearer of this, Hon. John E. Bouligny, a citizen of Louisiana, goes to that State seeking to have such of the people thereof as desire to avoid the unsatisfactory prospect before them, and to have peace again upon the old terms under the Constitution of the United States, manifest such desire by elections of members to the Congress of the United States particularly, and perhaps a legislature, State officers, and United States senators friendly to their object. I shall be glad for you, and each of you, to aid him and all others acting for this object as much as possible. In all available ways give the people a chance to express their wishes at these elections. Follow forms of law as far as convenient, but at all events get the expression of the largest num-

ber of the people possible. All see how such action will connect with and affect the proclamation of September 22. Of course the men elected should be gentlemen of character, willing to swear support to the Constitution, as of old, and known to be above reasonable suspicion of duplicity.

24th. (To McClellan.) I have just read your despatch about sore-tongued and fatigued horses. Will you pardon me for asking what the horses of your army have done since the battle of Antietam that fatigues anything?

27th. (To McClellan.) Yours of yesterday received. Most certainly I intend no injustice to any, and if I have done any I deeply regret it. To be told, after more than five weeks' total inaction of the army, and during which period we sent to the army every fresh horse we possibly could, amounting in the whole to 7,918, that the cavalry horses were too much fatigued to move, presents a very cheerless, almost hopeless, prospect for the future, and it may have forced something of impatience in my despatch. If not recruited and rested then, when could they ever be? I suppose the river is rising, and I am glad to believe you are crossing.

29th. (To McClellan.) I am much pleased with the movement of the army. When you get entirely across the river let me know. What do you know of the enemy?

McClellan fails to attack Lee who makes good his retreat into Virginia.

November 5th. By direction of the President of the United States, it is ordered that Major General McClellan be relieved from command of the Army of the Potomac, and that Major General Burnside take the command of that army.

15th. The President, Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, desires and enjoins the orderly observance of the Sabbath by the officers and men in the military and naval serv-

ice. The importance for man and beast of the prescribed weekly rest, the sacred rights of Christian soldiers and sailors, a becoming deference to the best sentiment of a Christian people, and a due regard for the Divine will, demand that Sunday labor in the Army and Navy be reduced to the measure of strict necessity.

21st. We do not particularly need members of Congress from those States (under military control) to enable us to get along with legislation here. What we do want is the conclusive evidence that respectable citizens of Louisiana are willing to be members of Congress and to swear to support the Constitution, and that other respectable citizens there are willing to vote for them and send them. To send a parcel of Northern men here as representatives, elected, as would be understood (and perhaps really so), at the point of the bayonet, would be disgusting and outrageous; and were I a member of Congress here, I would vote against admitting any such man to a seat.

I wish elections for Congressmen to take place in Louisiana; but I wish it to be a movement of the people of the districts, and not a movement of our military and quasi-military authorities there. I merely wish our authorities to give the people a chance—to protect them against secession interference.

24th. (To General Carl Schurz.) I have just received and read your letter of the 20th. The purport of it is that we lost the late elections and the Administration is failing because the war is unsuccessful, and that I must not flatter myself that I am not justly to blame for it. I certainly know that if the war fails, the administration fails, and that I will be blamed for it, whether I deserve it or not and I ought to be blamed if I could do better. You think I could do better; therefore you blame me already. I think I could not do better; therefore I blame you for blaming me. I understand you now to be willing to accept the help of men who are not Republicans, provided they have "heart in it." Agreed. I want no others. But

who is to be judge of hearts, or of "heart in it"? If I must discard my own judgment and take yours, I must also take that of others; and by the time I should reject all I should be advised to reject, I should have none left, Republicans or others—not even yourself. For be assured, my dear sir, there are men who have "heart in it" that think you are performing your part as poorly as you think I am performing mine. I certainly have been dissatisfied with the slowness of Buell and McClellan; but before I relieved them I had great fears I should not find successors to them who would do better; and I am sorry to add that I have seen little since to relieve those fears.

27th. (Steamer *Baltimore,* off Aquia Creek, Virginia.) I have just had a long conference with General Burnside. He believes that General Lee's whole army, or nearly the whole of it, is in front of him, at and near Fredericksburg. General Burnside says he could take into battle now any day about 110,000 men; that his army is in good spirit, good condition, good morale, and that in all respects he is satisfied with officers and men; that he does not want more men with him, because he could not handle them to advantage; that he thinks he can cross the river in face of the enemy and drive him away; but that, to use his own expression, it is somewhat risky.

December 1st. Washington.

(Annual Message to Congress.) A nation may be said to consist of its territory, its people, and its laws. The territory is the only part which is of certain durability. "One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh, but the earth abideth forever." It is of the first importance of duty to consider and estimate this ever-enduring part. That portion of the earth's surface which is owned and inhabitated by the people of the United States is well adapted to be the home of one national family, and it is not well adapted for two or more. Its vast extent and its variety of climate and productions are of advantage in this age for one people, whatever

they might have been in former ages. Steam, telegraphs, and intelligence have brought these to be an advantageous combination for one united people.

There is no line, straight or crooked, suitable for a national boundary, upon which to divide. Trace through, from east to west, upon the line between the free and slave country, and we shall find a little more than one-third of its length are rivers, easy to be crossed, and populated, or soon to be populated thickly upon both sides; while nearly all its remaining length are merely surveyors' lines, over which people may walk back and forth without any consciousness of their presence. No part of this line can be made any more difficult to pass by writing it down on paper or parchment as a national boundary.

But there is another difficulty. The great interior region, bounded east by the Alleghanies, north by the British dominions, west by the Rocky Mountains, and south by the line along which the culture of corn and cotton meets, and which included part of Virginia, part of Tennessee, all of Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Iowa, Minnesota, and the Territories of Dakota, Nebraska, and part of Colorado, already has above ten millions of people, and will have fifty millions within fifty years if not prevented by any political folly or mistake. It contains more than one-third of the country owned by the United States—certainly more than one million of square miles. One-half as populous as Massachusetts already is, it would have more than seventy-five millions of people. A glance at the maps shows that, territorially speaking, it is the great body of the republic. The other parts are but marginal borders to it, the magnificent region sloping west from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific being the deepest and also the richest in undeveloped resources. In the production of provisions, grains, grasses, and all which proceed from them, this great interior region is naturally one of the most important in the world. Ascertain from the sta-

tistics the small proportion of the region which has as yet, been brought into cultivation, and also the large and rapidly increasing amount of its products, and we shall be overwhelmed with the magnitude of the prospect presented; and yet this region has no sea-coast, touches no ocean anywhere. As part of one nation, its people now find, and may forever find, their way to Europe by New York, to South America and Africa by New Orleans, and to Asia by San Francisco. But separate our common country into two nations as designed by the present rebellion, and every man of this great interior region is thereby cut off from some one or more of these outlets—not, perhaps, by a physical barrier, but by embarrassing and onerous trade regulations.

And this is true wherever a dividing or boundary line may be fixed. Place it between the now free and slave country, or place it south of Kentucky, or north of Ohio, and still the truth remains that none south of it can trade to any port or place north of it, and none north of it can trade to any port or place south of it except upon terms dictated by a government foreign to them. Three outlets, east, west, and south are indispensable to the well-being of the people inhabiting, and to inhabit, this vast interior region. Which of the three may be the best is no proper question. All are better than either, and all of right belong to that people and to their successors forever. True to themselves, they will not ask where a line of separation shall be, but will vow rather that there shall be no such line. Nor are the marginal regions less interested in these communications to and through them to the great outside world. They, too, and each of them, must have access to this Egypt of the West without paying toll at the crossing of any national boundary.

Our national strife springs not from our permanent part; not from the land we inhabit, not from our national homestead. There is no possible severing of this but would multiply, and

not mitigate, evils among us. In all its adaptations and aptitudes, it demands union and abhors separation. In fact, it would ere long force reunion, however much of blood and treasure the separation might have cost.

Our strife pertains to ourselves: to the passing generations of men; and it can without convulsion be hushed forever with the passing of one generation.

In this view I recommend the adoption of the following resolution and articles amendatory to the Constitution of the United States:—

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of both houses concurring), That the following articles be proposed to the Legislatures (or Conventions) of the several States as amendments to the Constitution of the United States, all or any of which articles when ratified by three-fourths of the said Legislatures (or Conventions) to be valid as part or parts of the said Constitution, viz.:

"Article—Every State wherein slavery now exists which shall abolish the same therein at any time or times before the first day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand and nine hundred, shall receive compensation from the United States as follows, to wit:

"The President of the United States shall deliver to every such State bonds of the United States, bearing interest at the rate of per cent. per annum, to an amount equal to the aggregate sum of for each slave shown to have been therein by the eighth census of the United States, said bonds to be delivered to such State by installments, or in one parcel at the completion of the abolishment, accordingly as the same shall have been gradual or at one time within such State; and interest shall begin to run upon any such bond only from the proper time of its delivery as aforesaid. Any State having received bonds as aforesaid, and afterward re-introducing or

tolerating slavery therein, shall refund to the United States the bonds so received, or the value thereof, and all interest paid thereon.

"Article—All slaves who shall have enjoyed actual freedom by the chances of the war, at any time before the end of the rebellion, shall be forever free; but all owners of such who shall not have been disloyal shall be compensated for them at the same rates as are provided for States adopting abolishment of slavery, but in such way that no slave shall be twice accounted for.

"Article—Congress may appropriate money and otherwise provide for colonizing free colored persons, with their own consent, at any place or places without the United States."

The emancipation will be unsatisfactory to the advocates of perpetual slavery; but the length of time should greatly mitigate their dissatisfaction. The time spares both races from the evils of sudden derangement—in fact, from the necessity of any derangement; while most of those whose habitual course of thought will be disturbed by the measure will have passed away before its consummation. They will never see it. Another class will hail the prospect of emancipation, but will deprecate the length of time. They will feel that it gives too little to the now living slaves. But it really gives them much. It saves them from the vagrant destitution which must largely attend immediate emancipation in localities where their numbers are very great; and it gives the inspiring assurance that their posterity shall be free forever. The plan leaves to each State choosing to act under it, to abolish slavery now, or at the end of the century, or at any intermediate time, or by degrees extending over the whole or any part of the period; and it obliges no two States to proceed alike. It also provides for compensation, and generally the mode of making it. This, it would seem, must further mitigate the dissatisfaction of those who favor perpetual slavery, and especially of those who are to

receive the compensation. Doubtless some of those who are to pay and not to receive, will object. Yet the measure is both just and economical. In a certain sense the liberation of slaves is the destruction of property—property acquired by descent or by purchase, the same as any other property. It is no less true for having been often said, that the people of the South are not more responsible for the original introduction of this property than are the people of the North; and when it is remembered how unhesitatingly we all use cotton and sugar and share the profits of dealing in them, it may not be quite safe to say that the South has been more responsible than the North for its continuance. If, then, for a common object this property is to be sacrificed, is it not just that it be done at a common charge?

Fellow-citizens, we can not escape history. We of this Congress and this Administration will be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance or insignificance can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through which we pass will light us down, in honor or dishonor, to the latest generation. We say we are for the Union. The world will not forget that we say this. We know how to save the Union. The world knows we do know how to save it. We—even we here—hold the power to bear the responsibility. In giving freedom to the slave, we assure freedom to the free—honorable alike in what we give and what we preserve. We shall nobly save or meanly lose the last best hope of earth. Other means may succeed; this could not, can not fail. The way is plain, peaceful, generous, just—a way which, if followed, the world will forever applaud, and God must forever bless.

11th. Anxious to not act with so much clemency as to encourage another outbreak (of Indian war in Minnesota) on the one hand, nor with so much severity as to be real cruelty on the other, I caused a careful examination of the records to be made, in view of first ordering the execution of such as had been

proved of violating females. Contrary to my expectations, only two of this class were found. I then directed a further examination, and a classification of all who were proven to have participated in *massacres,* as distinguished from participation in *battles.* This class numbered forty, and included the two convicted of female violation. One of the number is strongly recommended, by the commission which tried them, for commutation to ten years' imprisonment. I have ordered the other thirty-nine to be executed on Friday, the 19th instant.

12th. (To Fernando Wood.) Your letter of the 8th, with accompanying note of same date, was received yesterday.

The most important paragraph in the letter, as I consider, is in these words: "On the 25th of November last I was advised by an authority which I deemed likely to be well informed, as well as reliable and truthful, that the Southern States would send representatives to the next Congress, provided that a full and general amnesty should permit them to do so. No guarantees or terms were asked for other than the amnesty referred to."

I strongly suspect your information will prove to be groundless; nevertheless, I thank you for communicating it to me. Understanding the phrase in the paragraph above quoted—"the Southern States would send representatives to the next Congress"—to be substantially the same as that "the people of the Southern States would cease resistance, and would reinaugurate, submit to, and maintain the national authority within the limits of such States under the Constitution of the United States," I say that in such case the war would cease on the part of the United States; and that if within a reasonable time "a full and general amnesty" were necessary to such end, it would not be withheld.

I do not think it would be proper now for me to communicate this formally or informally to the people of the Southern States. My belief is that they already know it; and when they

choose, if ever, they can communicate with me unequivocally. Nor do I think it proper now to suspend military operations to try any experiment of negotiation.

I should nevertheless receive with great pleasure the exact information you now have, and also such other as you may in any way obtain. Such information might be more valuable before the 1st of January than afterward.

13th. Fredericksburg.

16th. (To General Curtis.) N. W. Watkins, of Jackson, Missouri, (who is half brother to Henry Clay), writes me that a colonel of ours has driven him from his home at Jackson. Will you please look into the case and restore the old man to his home if the public interest will admit?

17th. Republican members of the Senate meet in caucus which is dominated by the enemies of Seward. Their aim is to force the President to dismiss the Cabinet and re-constitute it under the influence of Chase.

18th. (To Senator Browning who has reported to Lincoln that the caucus has named a committee that shall lay its demands before him.) What do those men want?

(Browning: I hardly know, Mr. President, but they are exceedingly violent against the administration.)

They wish to get rid of me, and I am sometimes half disposed to gratify them.

(Browning: You must stand firmly at your post, with a steady hand.)

We are on the brink of destruction. It appears to me that the Almighty is against us and I can hardly see a ray of hope. The committee is to be up and see me at 7 o'clock. Since I heard last night of the proceedings of the caucus, I have been more distressed than by any event of my life.

The President brings the committee and the Cabinet face to face. Chase disappoints his friends by failing to come out frankly in agreement with their views. The committee withdraws in bad humor.

Seward submits his resignation. Chase feels he must follow suit.

19th. (Chase calls on the President and says he has prepared his resignation.)

Where is it?

(Chase: I brought it with me.)

Let me have it. This (seizing the paper) cuts the Gordian knot. I can dispose of this subject now without any difficulty. I see my way clear.

20th. Now I can ride. I have a pumpkin in each end of my sack.

(To Secretaries Seward and Chase.) You have respectively tendered me your resignations as Secretary of State and Secretary of the Treasury of the United States. I am apprised of the circumstances which may render this course personally desirable to each of you; but after most anxious consideration, my deliberate judgment is, that the public interest does not admit of it. I therefore have to request that you will resume the duties of your departments respectively.

While they [the enemies of Seward] seemed to believe in my honesty, they also appeared to think that when I had in me any good purpose or intention, Seward contrived to suck it out of me unperceived.*

21st. (To Mrs. Lincoln.) Do not come on the night train. It is too cold. Come in the morning.

22nd. (To the Army of the Potomac.) I have just read

*Date approximate.

your commanding general's report of the battle of Fredericksburg. Although you were not successful, the attempt was not an error, nor the failure other than accident. The courage with which you, in an open field, maintained the contest against an intrenched foe, and the consummate skill and success with which you crossed and recrossed the river in the face of the enemy, show that you possess all the qualities of a great army, which will yet give victory to the cause of the country and of popular government.

(To Generals W. B. Franklin and W. F. Smith.) Yours of the 21st, suggesting a plan of operation for the Army of the Potomac, is received. I have hastily read the plan, and shall yet try to give it more deliberate consideration, with the aid of military men. Meanwhile let me say it seems to me to present the old question of preference between the line of the Peninsula and the line you are now upon. The difficulties you point out as pertaining to the Fredericksburg line are obvious and palpable. But now, as heretofore, if you go to James River, a large part of the army must remain on or near the Fredericksburg line, to protect Washington. It is the old difficulty. When I saw General Franklin at Harrison's Landing on James River last July, I can not be mistaken in saying that he distinctly advised the bringing of the army away from there.

(To Governor Curtin, talking about the campaign of Fredericksburg.) This reminds me of an old farmer I used to know out in Illinois. He took it into his head to go into hog-raising. He sent out to Europe and imported the finest breed of hogs he could buy. The prize hog was put into a pen and the farmer's two mischievous boys, James and John, were told to be sure not to let it out. But James, the worst of the two, let the brute out the next day. The hog went straight for the boys, and drove John up a tree, then the hog went for the seat of James' trousers, and the only way the boy could save himself was by holding on to the hog's tail. The hog

would not give up his hunt, nor the boy his hold. After they had made a good many circles around the tree, the boy's courage began to give out and he shouted to his brother: "I say, John, come down quick and help me let go this hog."

Now, Governor, that is exactly my case. I wish some one would come and help me let the hog go.*

*Date conjectural.

1863

January 1st. (Proclamation.) I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue in me vested as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and government of the United States wherein the people thereof, respectively, are this day in rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days from the day first above mentioned, order and designate as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereof, respectively, are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to-wit:

Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana (except the parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, Ascension, Assumption, Terre Bonne, Lafourche, St. Mary, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the city of New Orleans), Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia (except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkeley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Ann, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth), and which excepted parts are for the present left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued.

And by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States and parts of States are, and hence-

forward shall be free; and that the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

(To General H. W. Halleck.) General Burnside wishes to cross the Rappahannock with his army, but his grand division commanders all oppose the movement. If in such a difficulty as this you do not help, you fail me precisely in the point for which I sought your assistance. You know what General Burnside's plan is, and it is my wish that you go with him to the ground, examine it as far as practicable, confer with the officers, getting their judgment and ascertaining their temper; in a word, gather all the elements for forming a judgment of your own, and then tell General Burnside that you do approve his plan. Your military skill is useless to me if you do not do this.

2nd. (To General S. R. Curtis.) Yours of December 29 by the hand of Mr. Strong is just received. The day I telegraphed you suspending the order in relation to Doctor McPheeters, he, with Mr. Bates, the Attorney-General, appeared before me and left with me a copy of the order mentioned. The doctor also showed me the copy of an oath which he said he had taken, which is, indeed, very strong and specific. He also verbally assured me that he had constantly prayed in church for the President and government, as he had always done before the present war. In looking over the recitals in your order, I do not see that this matter of prayer, as he states it, is negatived, nor that any violation of his oath is charged, nor, in fact, that anything specific is alleged against him. The charges are all general: that he has a rebel wife and rebel relations, that he sympathizes with rebels, and that he exercises rebel influence. Now, after talking with him, I tell you frankly I believe he does sympathize with the rebels, but the question remains whether such a man, of unquestioned good

moral character, who has taken such an oath as he has, and can not even be charged with violating it, and who can be charged with no other specific act of omission, can, with safety to the government, be exiled upon the suspicion of his secret sympathies. But I agree that this must be left to you, who are on the spot; and if, after all, you think the public good requires his removal, my suspension of the order is withdrawn, only with this qualification, that the time during the suspension is not to be counted against him. I have promised him this. But I must add that the United States Government must not, as by this order, undertake to run the churches. When an individual in a church or out of it becomes dangerous to the public interest, he must be checked; but let the churches, as such, take care of themselves. It will not do for the United States to appoint trustees, supervisors, or other agents for the churches.

5th. (To General S. R. Curtis.) I am having a good deal of trouble with Missouri matters, and I now sit down to write you particularly about it. One class of friends believe in greater leniency in regard to arrests, banishments, and assessments. As usual in such cases, each questions the other's motives. On the one hand, it is insisted that Governor Gamble's Unionism, at most, is not better than a secondary spring of action; that hunkerism and a wish for political influence stand before Unionism with him. On the other hand, it is urged that arrests, banishments, and assessments are made more for private malice, revenge, and pecuniary interest than for the public good. This morning I was told by a gentleman who I have no doubt believes what he says, that in one case of assessments for $10,000, the different persons who paid compared receipts, and found they had paid $30,000. If this be true, the inference is that the collecting agents pocketed the odd $20,000. And true or not in the instance, nothing but the sternest necessity can justify the making and maintaining

of a system so liable to such abuses. Doubtless the necessity for the making of the system in Missouri did exist, and whether it continues for the maintenance of it is now a practical and very important question.

Some days ago General Gamble telegraphed me, asking that the assessments outside of St. Louis County might be suspended, as they already have been within it, and this morning all the members of Congress here from Missouri but one laid a paper before me asking the same thing. Now, my belief is that Governor Gamble is an honest and true man, not less so than yourself; that you and he could confer together on this and other Missouri questions with great advantage to the public; that each knows something which the other does not; and that acting together you could about double your stock of pertinent information. May I not hope that you and he will attempt this? I could at once safely do (or you could safely do without me) whatever you and he agree upon. There is absolutely no reason why you should not agree.

It is most cheering and encouraging for me to know that in the efforts which I have made and am making for the restoration of a righteous peace to our country, I am upheld and sustained by the good wishes and prayers of God's people. No one is more deeply than myself aware that without His favor our highest wisdom is but as foolishness and that our most strenuous efforts would avail nothing in the shadow of His displeasure. I am conscious of no desire for my country's welfare that is not in consonance with His will, and of no plan upon which we may not ask His blessing. It seems to me that if there be one subject upon which all good men may unitedly agree, it is imploring the gracious favor of the God of nations upon the struggles our people are making for the preservation of their precious birthright of civil and religious liberty.

8th. I never did ask more, nor ever was willing to accept less, than for all the States, and the people thereof, to take and

hold their places and their rights in the Union, under the Constitution of the United States. For this alone have I felt authorized to struggle and I seek neither more nor less now. Still, to use a coarse but an expressive figure, "broken eggs can not be mended." I have issued the Emancipation Proclamation, and I can not retract it. After the commencement of hostilities, I struggled nearly a year and a half to get along without touching the "institution"; and when finally I conditionally determined to touch it, I gave a hundred days' fair notice of my purpose to all the States and people, within which time they could have turned it wholly aside by simply again becoming good citizens of the United States.

14th. (To General J. A. Dix.) The proclamation has been issued. We were not succeeding—at best we were progressing too slowly—without it. Now that we have it, and bear all the disadvantages of it (as we do bear some in certain quarters), we must also take some benefit from it, if practicable. I therefore will thank you for your well-considered opinion whether Fortress Monroe and Yorktown, one or both, could not, in whole or in part, be garrisoned by colored troops, leaving the white forces now necessary at those places to be employed elsewhere.

19th. (To the Workingmen of Manchester, England.) I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the address and resolutions which you sent me on the eve of the new year.

I have understood well that the duty of self-preservation rests solely with the American people. But I have at the same time been aware that favor or disfavor of foreign nations might have a material influence in enlarging or prolonging the struggle with disloyal men in which the country is engaged. A fair examination of history has served to authorize a belief that the past actions and influences of the United States were generally regarded as having been beneficial toward mankind. I have, therefore, reckoned upon the forbearance of nations.

Circumstances—to some of which you kindly allude—induce me especially to expect that if justice and good faith should be practised by the United States, they would encounter no hostile influence on the part of Great Britain. It is now a pleasant duty to acknowledge the demonstration you have given of your desire that a spirit of amity and peace toward this country may prevail in the councils of your Queen, who is respected and esteemed in your country only more than she is by the kindred nation which has its home on this side of the Atlantic.

I know and deeply deplore the sufferings which the workingmen at Manchester, and in all Europe, are called to endure in this crisis. It has been often and studiously represented that the attempt to overthrow this Government, which was built upon the foundation of human rights, and to substitute for it one which should rest exclusively on the basis of human slavery, was likely to obtain the favor of Europe. Through the action of our disloyal citizens, the workingmen of Europe have been subjected to severe trials, for the purpose of forcing their sanction to that attempt. Under the circumstances, I can not but regard your decisive utterances upon the question as an instance of sublime Christian heroism which has not been surpassed in any age or in any country. It is indeed an energetic and reinspiring assurance of the inherent power of truth, and of the ultimate and universal triumph of justice, humanity and freedom. I do not doubt that the sentiments you have expressed will be sustained by your great nation; and on the other hand, I have no hesitation in assuring you that they will excite admiration, esteem and the most reciprocal feelings of friendship among the American people. I hail this interchange of sentiment, therefore, as an augury that whatever else may happen, whatever misfortune may befall your country or my own, the peace and friendship which now exists between the two nations will be, as it shall be my desire to make them, perpetual.

21st. The foregoing proceedings, findings, and sentence, in the foregoing case of Major-General Fitz-John Porter are approved and confirmed; and it is ordered that the said Fitz-John Porter be, and he hereby is, cashiered and dismissed from the service of the United States as a major-general of volunteers, and as colonel and brevet brigadier-general in the regular service of the United States, and forever disqualified from holding any office of trust or profit under the Government of the United States.

25th. The President of the United States has directed:

That Major-General A. E. Burnside, at his own request, be relieved from the command of the Army of the Potomac.

That Major-General J. Hooker be assigned to the command of the Army of the Potomac.

26th. (To General J. Hooker.) I have placed you at the head of the Army of the Potomac. Of course I have done this upon what appears to me to be sufficient reasons, and yet I think it best for you to know that there are some things in regard to which I am not quite satisfied with you. I believe you to be a brave and skilful soldier, which, of course, I like. I also believe you do not mix politics with your profession, in which you are right. You have confidence in yourself, which is valuable if not an indispensable quality. You are ambitious, which, within reasonable bounds, does good rather than harm; but I think that during General Burnside's command of the army you have taken counsel of your ambition and thwarted him as much as you could, in which you did a great wrong to the country and to a most meritorious and honorable brother officer. I have heard, in such a way as to believe it, of your recently saying that both the army and the government needed a dictator. Of course it was not for this, but in spite of it, that I have given you the command. Only those generals who gain successes can set up dictators. What I now ask of you is military success, and I will risk the dictatorship.

The government will support you to the utmost of its ability, which is neither more nor less than it has done and will do for all commanders. I much fear that the spirit which you have decided to infuse into the army of criticizing their commander and withholding confidence from him, will now turn upon you. I shall assist you as far as I can to put it down. Neither you nor Napoleon, if he were alive again, could get any good out of an army while such spirit prevails in it; and now beware of rashness. Beware of rashness, but with energy and sleepless vigilance go forward and give us victories.

29th. (To Thurlow Weed.) Your valedictory to the patrons of the Albany *Evening Journal* brings me a good deal of uneasiness. What does it mean?

February 2nd. (To the Workingmen of London, England.) I have received the New Year's address which you have sent me, with a sincere appreciation of the exalted and humane sentiments by which it was inspired.

As these sentiments are manifestly the enduring support of the free institutions of England, so I am sure also that they constitute the only reliable basis for free institutions throughout the world.

The resources, advantages, and powers of the American people are very great, and they have consequently succeeded to equally great responsibilities. It seems to have devolved upon them to test whether a government established on the principles of human freedom can be maintained against an effort to build one upon the exclusive foundation of human bondage. They will rejoice with me in the new evidences which your proceedings furnish that the magnanimity they are exhibiting is justly estimated by the true friends of freedom and humanity in foreign countries.

Accept my best wishes for your individual welfare, and for the welfare and happiness of the whole British people.

5th. (To General Franz Siegel.) General Schurz thinks I

was a little cross in my last note to you. If I was, I ask pardon. If I do get up a little temper I have not sufficient time to keep it up.

22nd. (To Reverend Alexander Reed.) Your note by which you, as General Superintendent of the United States Christian Commission, invite me to preside at a meeting to be held this day at the hall of the House of Representatives in this city, is received.

While for reasons which I deem sufficient, I must decline to preside, I can not withhold my approval of the meeting and its worthy objects. Whatever shall be sincerely, and in God's name, devised for the good of the soldier and seaman in their hard spheres of duty, can scarcely f il to be blessed.

28th. In compliance with the resolution of the Senate of the 26th instant, requesting a copy of any correspondence which may take place between me and workingmen in England, I transmit the papers mentioned in the subjoined list.

March 10th. And I do hereby declare and proclaim that all soldiers now absent from their respective regiments without leave who shall on or before the first day of April, in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, report themselves at any rendezvous designated by the general orders of the War Department, number fifty-eight, hereto annexed, may be restored to their respective regiments without punishment, except for the forfeiture of pay and allowances during their absence; and all who do not return within the time above specified shall be arrested as deserters and punished as the law provides.

18th. (To Henry Winter Davis.) There will be in the new House of Representatives, as there were in the old, some members openly opposing the war, some supporting it unconditionally, and some supporting it with "buts," and "ifs," and "ands." They will divide on the organization of the House—on the election of a Speaker. As you ask my opinion, I give

it, that the supporters of the war should send no man to Congress who will not pledge himself to go into caucus with the unconditional supporters of the war, and to abide the action of such caucus and vote for the person therein nominated for Speaker. Let the friends of the government first save the government, and then administer it to their own liking. This is not for publication, but to prevent misunderstanding of what I verbally said to you yesterday.

20th. Whereas, it appears to my satisfaction that Thomas W. Knox, a correspondent of the New York *Herald,* has been by the sentence of a court-martial excluded from the military department under command of Major-General Grant, and also that General Thayer, president of the court-martial which rendered the sentence, and Major-General McClernand, in command of a corps of that department, and many other respectable persons, are of the opinion that Mr. Knox's offense was technical rather than wilfully wrong, and that the sentence should be revoked: now, therefore, said sentence is hereby so far revoked as to allow Mr. Knox to return to General Grant's headquarters, and to remain if General Grant shall give his express assent, and to again leave the department if General Grant shall refuse such assent.

23rd. (To Governor Seymour.) You and I are substantially strangers, and I write this chiefly that we may become better acquainted. I, for the time being, am at the head of a nation which is in great peril, and you are at the head of the greatest State of that nation. As to maintaining the nation's life and integrity, I assume and believe there can not be a difference of purpose between you and me. If we should differ as to the means, it is important that such difference should be as small as possible; that it should not be enhanced by unjust suspicions on one side or the other. In the performance of my duty the cooperation of your State, as that of others, is needed—in fact, is indispensable. This alone is a

sufficient reason why I should wish to be at a good understanding with you. Please write me at least as long a letter as this, of course saying in it just what you think fit.

24th. (To Henry W. Raymond who has urged him not to place General Hooker in high command.) That is all true; Hooker talks badly; but the trouble is, he is stronger with the country to-day than any other man.

(Raymond argues that Hooker's strength would crumble if his real attitude of antagonism to his superiors should be made public.)

The country would not believe it; they would say it was all a lie.

26th. (To Governor Andrew Johnson.) I am told you have at least thought of raising a negro military force. In my opinion the country now needs no specific thing so much as some man of your ability and position to go to this work. When I speak of your position, I mean that of an eminent citizen of a slave State and himself a slaveholder. The colored population is the great available and yet unavailed of, force for restoring the Union. The bare sight of 50,000 armed and drilled black soldiers upon the banks of the Mississippi would end the rebellion at once: And who doubts that we can present that sight if we but take hold in earnest? If you have been thinking of it, please do not dismiss the thought.

30th. (A Proclamation.) And whereas, it is the duty of nations as well as of men to own their dependence upon the overruling power of God, to confess their sins and transgressions in humble sorrow, yet with assured hope that genuine repentance will lead to mercy and pardon; and to recognize the sublime truth, announced in the Holy Scriptures and proven by all history, that those nations only are blessed whose God is the Lord;

And insomuch as we know that by His divine law nations, like individuals, are subjected to punishments and chastise-

ments in this world, may we not justly fear that the awful calamity of civil war which now desolates the land may be but a punishment inflicted upon us for our presumptuous sins, to the needful end of our national reformation as a whole people? We have been the recipients of the choicest bounties of Heaven. We have been preserved, these many years, in peace and prosperity. We have grown in numbers, wealth, and power as no other nation has ever grown; but we have forgotten God. We have forgotten the gracious hand which preserved us in peace, and multiplied and enriched and strengthened us; and we have vainly imagined, in the deceitfulness of our hearts, that all these blessings were produced by some superior wisdom and virtue of our own. Intoxicated with unbroken success, we have become too self-sufficient to feel the necessity of redeeming and preserving grace—too proud to pray to the God that made us.

It behooves us, then, to humble ourselves before the offended Power, to confess our national sins, and to pray for clemency and forgiveness.

All this being done in sincerity and truth, let us then rest humbly in the hope authorized by the divine teachings, that the united cry of the nation will be heard on high, and answered with blessings no less than the pardon of our national sins and the restoration of our now divided and suffering country to its former happy condition of unity and peace.

April 1st. (To General D. Hunter.) I am glad to see the accounts of your colored force at Jacksonville, Florida. I see the enemy are driving at them fiercely, as is to be expected. It is important to the enemy that such a force shall not take shape and grow and thrive in the South, and in precisely the same proportion it is important to us that it *shall*. Hence the utmost caution and vigilance is necessary on our part. The enemy will make extra efforts to destroy them, and we should do the same to preserve and increase them.

3rd. (To General Hooker.) Our plan is to pass Saturday night on the boat; go over from Acquia Creek to your camp Sunday morning; remain with you till Tuesday morning and then return. Our party will probably not exceed six persons of all sorts.

11th. My opinion is that just now, with the enemy directly ahead of us, there is eligible route for us into Richmond; and consequently a question of preference between the Rappahannock route and the James River route is a contest about nothing. Hence our prime object is the enemy's army in front of us, and is not with or about Richmond at all, unless it be incidental to the main object.

What then? The two armies are face to face, with a narrow river between them. Our communications are shorter and safer than are those of the enemy. For this reason we can, with equal power, fret him more than he can us. I do not think that by raids toward Washington he can derange the Army of the Potomac at all. He has no distant operations which can call any of the Army of the Potomac away; we have such operations which may call him away, at least in part. While he remains intact I do not think we should take the disadvantage of attacking him in his intrenchments; but we should continually harass and menace him, so that he shall have no leisure nor safety in sending away detachments. If he weakens himself, then pitch into him.

13th. (To Admiral S. F. DuPont.) Hold your position inside the bar near Charleston, or, if you shall have left it, return to it, and hold it till further orders. Do not allow the enemy to erect new batteries or defenses on Morris Island. If he has begun it drive him out. I do not herein order you to renew the general attack. That is to depend on your own discretion or a further order.

(To General D. Hunter and Admiral S. F. DuPont, near Charleston.) We still hope that by cordial and judicious co-

operation you can take the batteries on Morris Island and Sullivan's Island and Fort Sumter. But whether you can or not, we wish the demonstration kept up for a time, for a collateral and very important object. We wish the attempt to be a real one, (though not a desperate one) if it affords any considerable chance of success. But if prosecuted as a demonstration only, this must not become public or the whole effect will be lost.

15th. (To General J. Hooker.) It is now 10:15 P. M. An hour ago I received your letter of this morning, and a few moments later your despatch of this evening. The latter gives me considerable uneasiness. The rain and mud of course were to be calculated upon. General S. is not moving rapidly enough to make the expedition come to anything. He has now been out three days, two of which were unusually fair weather, and all three without hindrance from the enemy, and yet he is not twenty-five miles from where he started. To reach his point he still has sixty to go, another river (the Rapidan) to cross, and will be hindered by the enemy. By arithmetic, how many days will it take him to do it? I do not know that any better can be done, but I greatly fear it is another failure already. Write me often. I am very anxious.

27th. (To General J. Hooker.) How does it look now?

27th. (To General Lane.) The Governor of Kansas is here asking that Lieutenant-Colonel J. M. Williams, of a colored regiment there, shall be removed; and also complaining of the military interference of General Blunt in the late election at Leavenworth. I do not know how, if at all, you are connected with these things; but I wish your assistance to so shape things that the Governor of Kansas may be treated with the consideration that is extended to governors of other States. We are not forcing a regimental officer upon any other governor against his protest. Can not this matter be somehow adjusted?

May 2-4. Chancellorsville.

2nd. General Halleck tells me he has a despatch from General Schenck this morning informing him that our forces have joined, and that the enemy menacing Pennsylvania will have to fight or run to-day.

3rd. (To General D. Butterfield.) Where is General Hooker? Where is Sedgwick? Where is Stoneman?

4th. (To General J. Hooker.) We have news here that the enemy has re-occupied heights about Fredericksburg. Is that true?

6th. 12:23 P. M. (To General J. Hooker.) We have, through General Dix, the contents of Richmond papers of the fifth. General Dix's despatch in full is going to you by Captain Fox of the navy. The substance is General Lee's despatch of the third, Sunday, claiming that he had beaten you, and that you were then retreating across the Rappahannock; distinctly stating that two of Longstreet's divisions fought you on Saturday, and that General Paxton was killed, Stonewall Jackson severely wounded, and Generals Heth and A. P. Hill slightly wounded. The Richmond papers also stated, upon what authority not mentioned, that our cavalry have been at Ashland, Hanover Court House, and other points, destroying several locomotives and a good deal of other property, and all the railroad bridges to within five (5) miles of Richmond.

(To General J. Hooker.) Just as I had telegraphed you contents of Richmond papers showing that our cavalry has not failed, I received General Butterfield's of 11 A. M. yesterday. This, with the great rain of yesterday and last night, securing your right flank, I think puts a new face upon your case; but you must be the judge.

7th. (To General J. Hooker.) The recent movement of your army is ended without effecting its object, except, perhaps, some important breakings of the enemy's communications.

What next? If possible, I would be very glad of another movement early enough to give us some benefit from the fact of the enemy's communication being broken; but neither for this reason nor any other do I wish anything done in desperation or rashness. An early movement would also help to supersede the bad moral effect of the recent one, which is said to be considerably injurious. Have you already in your mind a plan wholly or partially formed? If you have, prosecute it without interference from me. If you have not, please inform me, so that I, incompetent as I may be, can try and assist in the formation of some plan for the army.

8th. (To General J. Hooker.) The news is here of the capture by our forces of Grand Gulf, a large and very important thing. General Willich, an exchanged prisoner just from Richmond, has talked with me this morning. He was there when our cavalry cut the roads in that vicinity. He says there was not a sound pair of legs in Richmond, and that our men, had they known it, could have safely gone in and burned everything and brought in Jeff. Davis, captured and paroled three or four hundred men. He says as he came to City Point there was an army three miles—Longstreet, he thought, moving toward Richmond. Milroy has captured a despatch of General Lee, in which he says his loss was fearful in his last battle with you.

9th. (To General J. A. Dix.) It is very important for Hooker to know exactly what damage is done to the railroads at all points between Fredericksburg and Richmond. As yet we have no word as to whether the crossings of the North and South Anna, or any of them, have been touched. There are four of these crossings; that is, one on each road on each stream. You readily perceive why this information is desired. I suppose Kilpatrick or Davis can tell. Please ascertain fully what was done, and what is the present condition, as near as you can, and advise me at once.

11th. (To General D. Butterfield.) About what distance is it from the observatory we stopped at last Thursday to the line of enemies' works you ranged the glass upon for me?

12th. (To Governor Horatio Seymour.) Doctor Swinburne and Mr. Gillett are here, having been refused, as they say, by the War Department, permission to go with the Army of the Potomac. They now appeal to me, saying you wish them to go. I suppose they have been excluded by a rule which experience has induced the department to deem proper, still they shall have leave to go, if you say you desire it. Please answer.

13th. (To General J. Hooker.) If it will not interfere with the service, nor personally incommode you, please come up and see me this evening.

14th. (To General J. Hooker.) When I wrote on the 7th I had an impression that possibly, by an early movement, you could get some advantage from the supposed facts that the enemy's communications were disturbed, and that he was somewhat deranged in position. That idea has now passed away, the enemy having re-established his communications, regained his positions, and actually received reinforcements. It does not now appear probable to me that you can gain anything by an early renewal of the attempt to cross the Rappahannock. I therefore shall not complain if you do no more for a time than to keep the enemy at bay and out of other mischief, by menaces and occasional cavalry raids, if practicable, and to put your own army in good condition again. Still, if, in your own clear judgment, you can renew the attack successfully, I do not mean to restrain you. Bearing upon this last point, I must tell you that I have some painful intimations that some of your corps and division commanders are not giving you their entire confidence. This would be ruinous, if true, and you should therefore, first of all, ascertain the real facts beyond all possibility of doubt.

15th. (To H. T. Blow, C. D. Drake, and others.) Your despatch of to-day is just received. It is very painful to me that you in Missouri can not or will not settle your factional quarrel among yourselves. I have been tormented with it beyond endurance for months by both sides. Neither side pays the least respect to my appeals to your reason. I am now compelled to take hold of the case.

Because of activities in opposition to Federal recruiting, C. L. Vallandigham is arrested by General Burnside, now in command of the Department of the Ohio. Great excitement over this arrest which is at once made an issue by the Democrats.

19th. (To Major-General Burnside, Commanding Department of Ohio.) The President directs that without delay you send C. L. Vallandigham under secure guard to the headquarters of General Rosecrans, to be put by him beyond our military lines; and in case of his return within our lines, he be arrested and kept in close custody for the term specified in his sentence.

20th. (To General W. S. Rosecrans.) The President desires to know whether you have any late news from Grant, or any of the operations on the Mississippi. If you have, please report.

22nd. We have news here in the Richmond newspapers of 20th and 21st, including a despatch from General Joe Johnston himself, that on the 15th or 16th—a little confusion as to the day—Grant beat Pemberton and (W. W.) Loring near Edwards Station, at the end of a nine hours' fight, driving Pemberton over the Big Black and cutting Loring off and driving him south to Crystal Springs, twenty-five miles below Jackson. Joe Johnston telegraphed all this, except about Loring, from his camp between Brownsville and Lexington, on the 18th. Another despatch indicates that Grant was moving against Johnston on the 18th.

24th. (To Anson Stager.) Late last night Fuller telegraphed you, as you say, that "the stars and stripes float over Vicksburg and the victory is complete." Did he know what he said, or did he say it without knowing it? Your despatch of this afternoon throws doubt upon it.

26th. (To Isaac N. Arnold.) Your letter advising me to dismiss General Halleck is received. If the public believe, as you say, that he has driven Fremont, Butler, and Sigel from the service, they believe what I know to be false; so that if I was to yield to it, it would only be to be instantly beset by some other demand based on another falsehood equally gross. You know yourself that Fremont was relieved at his own request, before Halleck could have had anything to do with it—went out near the end of June, while Halleck only came in near the end of July. I know equally well that no wish of Halleck's had anything to do with the removal of Butler or Sigel. Sigel, like Fremont, was relieved at his own request, pressed upon me almost constantly for six months, and upon complaints that could have been made as justly by almost any corps commander in the army, and more justly by some. So much for the way they got out. Now a word as to their not getting back. In the early spring, General Fremont sought active service again; and, as it seemed to me, sought it in a very good and reasonable spirit. But he holds the highest rank in the Army, except McClellan, so that I could not well offer him a subordinate command. Was I to displace Hooker, or Hunter, or Rosecrans, or Grant, or Banks? If not, what was I to do? And, similar to this is the case of both the others. One month after General Butler's return I offered him a position in which I thought and still think he could have done himself the highest credit, and the country the greatest service, but he declined it. When General Sigel was relieved, at his own request as I have said, of course I had to put another in command of his corps. Can I instantly thrust that other one [out] to put him in again?

And now my good friend, let me turn your eyes upon another point. Whether General Grant shall or shall not consummate the capture of Vicksburg, his campaign from the beginning of the month up to the twenty-second day of it, is one of the most brilliant in the world. His corps commanders and division commanders, in part, are McClernand, McPherson, Sherman, Steele, Hovey, Blair and Logan. And yet taking General Grant and these seven of his generals, and you can scarcely name one of them that has not been constantly denounced, even opposed, by the same men who are now so anxious to get Halleck out, and Fremont and Butler and Sigel in. I believe no one of them went through the Senate easily, and certainly one failed to get through at all. I am compelled to take a more impartial and unprejudiced view of things. Without claiming to be your superior, which I do not, my position enables me to understand my duty in all these matters better than you possibly can, and I hope you do not yet doubt my integrity.

27th. (To General John M. Schofield.) Having relieved General Curtis and assigned you to the command of the Department of the Missouri, I think it may be of some advantage for me to state to you why I did it. I did not relieve General Curtis because of any full conviction that he had done wrong by commission or omission. I did it because of a conviction in my mind that the Union men of Missouri, constituting when united a vast majority of the whole people, have entered into a pestilent factional quarrel among themselves, General Curtis, perhaps not of choice, being the head of one faction and Governor Gamble that of the other. After months of labor to reconcile the difficulty, it seemed to grow worse and worse, until I felt it my duty to break it up somehow; and as I could not remove Governor Gamble, I had to remove General Curtis.

Now that you are in the position, I wish you to undo noth-

ing merely because General Curtis or Governor Gamble did it, but to exercise your own judgment, and do right for the public interest. Let your military measures be strong enough to repel the invader and keep the peace, and not so strong as to unnecessarily harass and persecute the people. It is a difficult rôle, and so much greater will be the honor if you perform it well. If both factions, or neither, shall abuse you, you will probably be about right. Beware of being assailed by one and praised by the other.

28th. (To General W. S. Rosecrans.) I would not push you to any rashness, but I am very anxious that you do your utmost, short of rashness, to keep Bragg from getting off to help Johnston against Grant.

29th. (To General A. E. Burnside.) Your despatch of to-day received. When I shall wish to supersede you I will let you know. All the Cabinet regretted the necessity of arresting for instance Vallandigham—some perhaps doubting there was a real necessity for it, but being done all were for seeing you through with it.

June 4th. (To Secretary Stanton.) I have received additional despatches which, with former ones, induce me to believe we should revoke or suspend the order suspending the *Chicago Times*, and if you concur in opinion, please have it done.

5th. (To General J. Hooker.) Yours of to-day was received an hour ago. So much of professional military skill is requisite to answer it that I have turned the task over to General Halleck. He promises to perform it with his utmost care. I have but one idea which I think worth suggesting to you, and that is, in case you find Lee coming to the north of the Rappahannock, I would by no means cross to the south of it. If he should have a rear force at Fredericksburg, tempting you to fall upon it, it would fight in intrenchments and have you at disadvantage, and so, man for man, worst you at that point,

while his main force would in some way be getting an advantage of you northward. In one word, I would not take any risk of being entangled upon the river, like an ox jumped half over a fence and liable to be torn by dogs front and rear without a fair chance to gore one way or kick the other. If Lee would come to my side of the river, I would keep on the same side, and fight him or act on the defense, according as might be my estimate of his strength relatively to my own. But these are mere suggestions, which I desire to be controlled by the judgment of yourself and General Halleck.

8th. We have despatches from Vicksburg of the 3rd. Siege progressing. No general fighting recently. All well. Nothing new from Port Hudson.

9th. (To Mrs. Lincoln.) Think you had better put Tad's pistol away. I had an ugly dream about him.

10th. (To General J. Hooker.) Your long despatch of to-day is just received. If left to me, I would not go south of the Rappahannock upon Lee's moving north of it. If you had Richmond invested to-day you would not be able to take it in twenty days; meanwhile your communications, and with them your army, would be ruined. I think Lee's army, and not Richmond, is your true objective point. If he comes toward the upper Potomac follow on his flank and on his inside track, shortening your lines while he lengthens his. Fight him, too, when opportunity offers. If he stays where he is, fret him and fret him.

11th. (To Mrs. Lincoln.) Your three despatches received. I am very well and am glad to know that you and Tad are so.

12th. (To Erastus Corning and others.) Your letter of May 19th, inclosing the resolutions of a public meeting held at Albany, New York, on the 16th of the same month, was received several days ago.

The resolutions, as I understand them, are resolvable into

propositions—first, the expression of a purpose to sustain the cause of the Union, to secure peace through victory, and to support the Administration in every constitutional and lawful measure to suppress the rebellion; and secondly, a declaration of censure upon the Administration for supposed unconstitutional action, such as the making of military arrests. And from the two propositions a third is deduced, which is that the gentlemen composing the meeting are resolved on doing their part to maintain our common Government and country, despite the folly or wickedness, as they may conceive, of any Administration. This position is eminently patriotic, and as such I thank the meeting, and congratulate the nation for it. My own purpose is the same, so that the meeting and myself have a common object, and can have no difference, except in the choice of means or measures for effecting that object.

But the meeting, by their resolutions, assert and argue that certain military arrests, and proceedings following them, for which I am ultimately responsible, are unconstitutional. I think they are not.

Take the particular case mentioned by the meeting. It is asserted, in substance, that Mr. Vallandigham was, by a military commander, seized and tried, "for no other reason than words addressed to a public meeting in criticism of the course of the Administration, and in condemnation of the military orders of the General." Now, if there be no mistake about this, if this assertion is the truth and the whole truth, if there was no other reason for the arrest, then I concede that the arrest was wrong. But the arrest, as I understand, was made for a very different reason. Mr. Vallandigham avows his hostility to the war on the part of the Union; and his arrest was made because he was laboring, with some effect, to prevent the raising of troops, to encourage desertions from the army, and to leave the rebellion without an adequate military force to suppress it. He was not arrested because he was damaging the political prospects

of the Administration or the personal interests of the commanding general but because he was damaging the army, upon the existence and vigor of which the life of the nation depends. He was warring upon the military, and this gave the military constitutional jurisdiction to lay hands upon him. If Mr. Vallandigham was not damaging the military power of the country, then his arrest was made on mistake of fact, which I would be glad to correct on reasonably satisfactory evidence.

I understand the meeting whose resolutions I am considering to be in favor of suppressing the rebellion by military force—by armies. Long experience has shown that armies can not be maintained unless desertion shall be punished by the severe penalty of death. The case requires, and the law and the Constitution sanction this punishment. Must I shoot a simple-minded soldier boy who deserts, while I must not touch a hair of a wily agitator who induces him to desert? This is none the less injurious when effected by getting a father, or brother, or friend into a public meeting, and there working upon his feelings till he is persuaded to write the soldier boy that he is fighting in a bad cause, for a wicked administration of a contemptible government, too weak to arrest and punish him if he shall desert. I think that, in such a case, to silence the agitator and save the boy is not only constitutional, but withal a great mercy.

If I be wrong on this question of constitutional power, my error lies in believing that certain proceedings are constitutional when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety requires them, which would not be constitutional when, in absence of rebellion or invasion, the public safety does *not* require them; in other words, that the Constitution is not in its application in all respects the same in cases of rebellion or invasion involving the public safety, as it is in times of profound peace and public security. The Constitution itself makes the distinction, and I can no more be persuaded that the government can

constitutionally take no strong measure in time of rebellion, because it can be shown that the same could not be lawfully taken in time of peace, than I can be persuaded that a particular drug is not good medicine for a sick man, because it can be shown to not be good food for a well one. Nor am I able to appreciate the danger apprehended by the meeting, that the American people will, by means of military arrests during the rebellion lose the right of public discussion, the liberty of speech and the press, the law of evidence, trial by jury, and *habeas corpus* throughout the indefinite peaceful future which I trust lies before them, any more than I am able to believe that a man could contract so strong an appetite for emetics during temporary illness as to persist in feeding upon them during the remainder of his healthful life.

13th. (To General J. Hooker.) I was coming down this afternoon; but if you would prefer I should not, I shall blame you if you do not tell me so.

14th. (To General J. Hooker.) So far as we can make out here, the enemy have Milroy surrounded at Winchester, and Tyler at Martinsburg. If they could hold out a few days, could you help them? If the head of Lee's army is at Martinsburg and the tail of it on the plank road between Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, the animal must be very slim somewhere: could you not break him?

(To Major-General Hooker.) You have nearly all the elements for forming an opinion whether Winchester is surrounded that I have. I really fear, almost believe, it is. No communication has been had with it during the day, either at Martinsburg or Harper's Ferry. At seven P. M. we also lost communication with Martinsburg. The enemy had also appeared there some hours before. At nine P. M. Harper's Ferry said the enemy was reported at Berryville and Smithfield. If I could know that Longstreet and Ewell moved in that direction so long ago as you stated in your last, then I

should feel sure that Winchester is strongly invested. It is quite certain that a considerable force of the enemy is thereabout, and as I fear it is an overwhelming one compared with Milroy's I am unable to give any more certain opinion.

(To General R. C. Schenck.) Get General Milroy from Winchester to Harper's Ferry if possible. He will be gobbled up if he remains, if he is not already past salvation.

15th. (To Mrs. Lincoln.) Tolerably well. Have not rode out much yet, but have at last got new tires on the carriage wheels and perhaps shall ride out soon.

Lee threatens an invasion of the North.

The facts are now known here that Winchester and Martinsburg were both besieged yesterday. The troops from Martinsburg have got into Harper's Ferry without loss. Those from Winchester are also in, having lost in killed, wounded and missing about one-third of their number. Of course the enemy holds both places, and I think the report is authentic that he is crossing the Potomac at Williamsport. We have not heard of his yet appearing at Harper's Ferry, or on the river anywhere below.

(A Proclamation.) Whereas, the armed insurrectionary combinations now existing in several of the States are threatening to make inroads into the States of Maryland, Western Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, requiring immediately an additional military force for the service of the United States;

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, and Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy thereof, and of the militia of the several States when called into actual service, do hereby call into the service of the United States 100,000 militia from the States following, namely: from the State of Maryland, 10,000; from the State

of Pennsylvania, 50,000; from the State of Ohio, 30,000; from the State of West Virginia, 10,000, to be mustered into the service of the United States forthwith, and to serve for the period of six months from the date of such muster into said service, unless sooner discharged.

16th. (To General J. Hooker.) I send you this by the hand of Captain Dahlgren. Your despatch at 11:30 A. M. to-day is just received. When you say I have long been aware that you do not enjoy the confidence of the major-general commanding, you state the case much too strongly.

You do not lack his confidence in any degree to do you any harm. On seeing him, after telegraphing you this morning, I found him more nearly agreeing with you than I was myself. Surely you do not mean to understand that I am withholding my confidence from you when I happen to express an opinion (certainly never discourteously) differing from one of your own.

I believe Halleck is dissatisfied with you to this extent only, that he knows that you write and telegraph ("report," as he calls it) to me. I think he is wrong to find fault with this; but I do not think he withholds any support from you on account of it. If you and he would use the same frankness to one another, and to me, that I use to both of you, there would be no difficulty. I need and must have the professional skill of both, and yet these suspicions tend to deprive me of both.

I believe that you are aware that since you took command of the army I have not believed you had any chance to effect anything till now. As it looks to me, Lee's returning toward Harper's Ferry gives you back the chance that I thought McClellan lost last fall. Quite possibly I was wrong both then and now; but, in the great responsibility resting upon me, I can not be entirely silent. Now, all I ask is that you will be in such mood that we can get into our action the best cordial judgment of yourself and General Halleck, with my poor mite added, if

indeed he and you shall think it entitled to any consideration at all.

(To Mrs. Lincoln.) It is a matter of choice with yourself whether you come home. There is no reason why you should not that did not exist when you went away. As bearing on the question of your coming home, I do not think the raid into Pennsylvania amounts to anything at all.

(To Colonel W. S. Bliss.) Your despatch asking whether I will accept the "Loyal Brigade of the North" is received. I never heard of that brigade by name and do not know where it is, yet presuming it is in New York, I say I will gladly accept it, if tendered by and with the consent and approbation of the Governor of that State; otherwise not.

(To General J. Hooker.) To remove all misunderstanding, I now place you in strict military relation to General Halleck of a commander of one of the armies to the general-in-chief of all the armies.

I have not intended differently, but as it seems to be differently understood, I shall direct him to give you orders, and you to obey them.

18th. If General Brooks, now in command at Pittsburgh, finds any person or persons injuriously affecting his military operations, he is authorized to arrest him or them at once, if the case is urgent. If not urgent, let him communicate the particulars to me. General Brooks is the man to now manage the matter at Pittsburgh.

21st. Operator at Leesburg just now tells us that firing commenced about seven this morning in direction from here of Aldie's Gap and Middleburg; has continued all day, and has receded from him, and is apparently now about White Plains, was very heavy this morning, but lighter now.

22nd. (To General John M. Schofield.) Your despatch, asking in substance, whether, in case Missouri shall adopt gradual emancipation, the General Government will protect

slave-owners in that species of property during the short time it shall be permitted by the State to exist within it, has been received. Desirous as I am that emancipation shall be adopted by Missouri, and believing as I do that gradual can be made better than immediate for both black and white, except when military necessity changes the case, my impulse is to say that such protection would be given. I can not know exactly what shape an act of emancipation may take. If the period from the initiation to the final end should be comparatively short, and the act should prevent persons being sold during that period into more lasting slavery, the whole would be easier.

23rd. (To General D. N. Couch.) Have you any reports of the enemy moving into Pennsylvania? And, if any, what?

25th. (To Secretary Chase.) Honorable William Kellogg will tell you plainly what he wants; and I wish him obliged so far as you can consistently do it. Please strain a point for him, if you do not have to strain it too far.

27th. Hooker having resigned because of friction in his army, Meade succeeds him.

29th. (To M. Birchard and others.) The resolutions of the Ohio Democratic State Convention, which you present me, together with your introductory and closing remarks, being in position and argument mainly the same as the resolutions of the Democratic meeting at Albany, New York, I refer you to my response to the latter as meeting most of the points in the former.

You ask, in substance, whether I really claim that I may override all the guaranteed rights of individuals, on the plea of conserving the public safety—when I may choose to say the public safety requires it. This question, divested of the phraseology calculated to represent me as struggling for an arbitrary personal prerogative, is either simply a question *who* shall

decide, or an affirmation that *nobody* shall decide, what the public safety does require in cases of rebellion or invasion. The Constitution contemplates the question as likely to occur for decision, but it does not expressly declare who is to decide it. By necessary implication, when rebellion or invasion comes, the decision is to be made from time to time; and I think the man whom, for the time, the people have, under the Constitution, made the commander-in-chief of their army and navy, is the man who holds the power and bears the responsibility of making it. If he uses the power justly, the same people will probably justify him; if he abuses it, he is in their hands to be dealt with by all the modes they have reserved to themselves in the Constitution.

We all know that combinations, armed in some instances, to resist the arrest of deserters began several months ago; that more recently the like has appeared in resistance to the enrollment preparatory to a draft; and that quite a number of assassinations have occurred from the same animus. These had to be met by military force, and this again has led to bloodshed and death. And now, under a sense of responsibility more weighty and enduring than any which is merely official, I solemnly declare my belief that this hindrance of the military, including maiming and murder, is due to the course in which Mr. Vallandigham has been engaged in a greater degree than to any other cause; and it is due to him personally in a greater degree than to any other one man.

With all this before their eyes, the convention you represent have nominated Mr. Vallandigham for Governor of Ohio, and both they and you have declared the purpose to sustain the National Union by all constitutional means; but of course, they and you, in common reserve to yourselves to decide what are constitutional means, and, unlike the Albany meeting, you omit to state or intimate that in your opinion an army is a constitutional means of saving the Union against a rebellion,

or even to intimate that you are conscious of an existing rebellion being in progress with the avowed object of destroying that very Union. At the same time, your nominee for Governor, in whose behalf you appeal, is known to you and to the world to declare against the use of an army to suppress the rebellion. Your own attitude, therefore, encourages desertion, resistance to the draft, and the like, because it teaches those who incline to desert and to escape the draft to believe it is your purpose to protect them, and to hope that you will become strong enough to do so.

After a short personal intercourse with you, gentlemen of the committee, I can not say I think you desire this effect to follow your attitude; but I assure you that both friends and enemies of the Union look upon it in this light. It is a substantial hope, and by consequence a real strength to the enemy. If it is a false hope and one which you would willingly dispel, I will make the way exceedingly easy. I send you duplicates of this letter in order that you, or a majority of you, may, if you choose, indorse your names upon one of them and return it thus indorsed to me with the understanding that those signing are thereby committed to the following propositions and to nothing else:—

1. That there is now a rebellion in the United States, the object and tendency of which is to destroy the National Union; and that, in your opinion, an army and navy are constitutional means for suppressing that rebellion.

2. That no one of you will do anything which, in his own judgment, will tend to hinder the increase, or favor the decrease, or lessen the efficiency of the army or navy, while engaged in the effort to suppress that rebellion; and,—

3. That each of you will, in his sphere, do all he can to have the officers, soldiers, and seamen of the army and navy, while engaged in the effort to suppress the rebellion, paid, fed, clad, and otherwise well provided for and supported.

And with the further understanding that upon receiving the letter and names thus indorsed, I will cause them to be published, which publication shall be, within itself, a revocation of the order in relation to Mr. Vallandigham.

It will not escape observation that I consent to the release of Mr. Vallandigham upon terms not embracing any pledge from him or from others as to what he will or will not do. I do this because he is not present to speak for himself or to authorize others to speak for him; and because I should expect that on his returning he would not put himself practically in antagonism with the position of his friends. But I do it chiefly because I thereby prevail on other influential gentlemen of Ohio to so define their position as to be of immense value to the army—thus more than compensating for the consequences of any mistake in allowing Mr. Vallandigham to return, so that, on the whole, the public safety will not have suffered by it. Still, in regard to Mr. Vallandigham and all others, I must hereafter, as heretofore, do so much as the public safety may seem to require.

Few things are so troublesome to the government as the fierceness with which the profits in trading are sought. The temptation is so great that nearly everybody wishes to be in it; and, when in, the question of profit controls all, regardless of whether the cotton-seller is loyal or rebel, or whether he is paid in corn-meal or gunpowder. The officers of the army, in numerous instances, are believed to connive and share the profits, and thus the army itself is diverted from fighting the rebels to speculating in cotton; and steamboats and wagons in the pay of the government are set to gathering and carrying cotton, and the soldiers to loading cotton-trains and guarding them.

30th. I really think the attitude of the enemy's army in Pennsylvania presents us the best opportunity we have had since the war began.

No one out of my position can know so well as if he were in it, the difficulties and involvments of replacing General McClellan in command, and this aside from any imputations upon him.

I judge by absence of news that the enemy is not crossing or pressing up to the Susquehanna.

July 1st-3rd. Gettysburg.

4th. (To Rear Admiral S. P. Lee.) You will not permit Mr. Stephens to proceed to Washington or to pass the blockade. He does not make known the subjects to which the communication in writing from Mr. Davis relates, which he bears and seeks to deliver in person to the President, and upon which he desires to confer. Those subjects can only be military or not military, or partly both. Whatever may be military will be readily received if offered through the well-understood military channel. Of course nothing else will be received by the President when offered, as in this case, in terms assuming the independence of the so-called Confederate States; and anything will be received, and carefully considered by him, when offered by any influential person or persons in terms not assuming the independence of the so-called Confederate States.

The President announces to the country that news from the Army of the Potomac, up to 10 P. M. of the 3rd, is such as to cover that army with the highest honor; to promise a great success to the cause of the Union, and to claim the condolence of all for the many gallant fallen; and that for this he especially desires that on this day, He, whose will, not ours, should ever be done, be everywhere remembered and reverenced with profoundest gratitude.

6th. (Soldiers' Home, Washington.) I left the telegraph office a good deal dissatisfied. I did not like the phrase, in Orders, No. 68, I believe, "Drive the invaders from our soil."

Since then I see a despatch from General French, saying the enemy is crossing his wounded over the river in flats, without saying why he does not stop it, or even intimating a thought that it ought to be stopped. Still later, another despatch from General Pleasonton, by direction of General Meade, to General French stating that the main army is halted because it is believed the rebels are concentrating "on the road toward Hagerstown, beyond Fairfield," and is not to move until it is ascertained that the rebels intend to evacuate Cumberland Valley.

There things all appear to me to be connected with a purpose to cover Baltimore and Washington, and to get the enemy across the river again without a further collision, and they do not appear connected with a purpose to prevent his crossing and to destroy him. I do fear the former purpose is acted upon and the latter is rejected.

7th. We have certain information that Vicksburg surrendered to General Grant on the 4th of July. Now if General Meade can complete his work, so gloriously prosecuted thus far, by the literal or substantial destruction of Lee's army, the rebellion will be over.

8th. (To Major-General Meade.) There is reliable information that the enemy is crossing at Williamsport. The opportunity to attack his divided forces should not be lost. The President is urgent and anxious that your army should move against him by forced marches.

(To General Lorenzo Thomas.) Your despatch of this morning to the Secretary of War is before me. The forces you speak of will be of no imaginable service if they can not go forward with a little more expedition. Lee is now passing the Potomac faster than the forces you mention are passing Carlisle. Forces now beyond Carlisle to be joined by regiments still at Harrisburg, and the united force again to join Pierce somewhere, and the whole to move down the Cumberland Valley, will, in my unprofessional opinion, be quite as likely to capture the "man in the moon" as any part of Lee's army.

11th. It is certain that after three days' fighting at Gettysburg, Lee withdrew and made for the Potomac; that he found the river so swollen as to prevent his crossing, that he is still [on] this side, near Hagerstown and Williamsport, preparing to defend himself; and that Meade is close upon him, and preparing to attack him, heavy skirmishing having occurred nearly all day yesterday.

I am more than satisfied with what has happened north of the Potomac so far, and am anxious and hopeful for what is to come.

13th. (To General Grant.) I do not remember that you and I ever met personally. I write this now as a grateful acknowledgment for the almost inestimable service you have done the country. I wish to say a word further. When you first reached the vicinity of Vicksburg, I thought you should do what you finally did—march the troops across the neck, run the batteries with the transports, and thus go below; and I never had any faith, except a general hope that you knew better than I, that the Yazoo Pass expedition and the like could succeed. When you got below and took Port Gibson, Grand Gulf, and vicinity, I thought you should go down the river and join General Banks, and when you turned northward, east of the Big Black, I feared it was a mistake. I now wish to make the personal acknowledgment that you were right and I was wrong.

(To General J. M. Schofield.) I regret to learn of the arrest of the *Democrat* editor. Please spare me the trouble this is likely to bring.

14th. 1 P. M. (Halleck to Meade writes:)

I need hardly say to you that the escape of Lee's army without another battle has created great dissatisfaction in the mind of the President, and it will require an active and ener-

getic pursuit on your part to remove the impression that it (sic) has not been sufficiently active heretofore.

(To General G. G. Meade.) I have just seen your despatch to General Halleck, asking to be relieved of your command because of a supposed censure of mine. I am very, very grateful to you for the magnificent success you gave the cause of the country at Gettysburg; and I am sorry now to be the author of the slightest pain to you. But I was in such deep distress myself that I could not restrain some expression of it. I have been oppressed nearly ever since the battles of Gettysburg by what appeared to be evidences that yourself and General Couch and General Smith were not seeking a collision with the enemy, but were trying to get him across the river without another battle. What these evidences were, if you please, I hope to tell you at some time when we shall both feel better.

Again, my dear general, I do not believe you appreciate the magnitude of the misfortune involved in Lee's escape. He was within your easy grasp, and to have closed upon him would, in connection with our other late successes, have ended the war. As it is, the war will be prolonged indefinitely. If you could not safely attack Lee last Monday, how can you possibly do so south of the river, when you take with you very few more than two-thirds of the force you then had in hand?

15th. (A Proclamation.) It has pleased Almighty God to hearken to the supplication and prayers of an afflicted people, and to vouchsafe to the Army and Navy of the United States victories on land and on sea so signal and so effective as to furnish reasonable grounds for augmented confidence that the union of these States will be maintained, their Constitution preserved, and their peace and prosperity permanently restored. But these victories have been accorded not without sacrifices of life, limb, health, and liberty, incurred by brave,

loyal and patriotic citizens. Domestic affliction in every part of the country follows in the train of these fearful bereavements. It is meet and right to recognize and confess the presence of the Almighty Father and the power of His hand equally in these triumphs and in these sorrows.

Now, therefore, be it known that I do set apart Thursday, the 6th day of August next, to be observed as a day for national thanksgiving, praise, and prayer.

20th. I was pained to be informed this morning by the Provost-Marshal-General that New Jersey is now behind twelve thousand, irrespective of the draft. I did not have time to ascertain by what rules this was made out; and I shall be very glad if it shall, by any means, prove to be incorrect.

21st. I desire that a renewed and vigorous effort be made to raise colored forces along the shores of the Mississippi.

23rd. (To Governor H. R. Gamble.) My private secretary has just brought me a letter, saying it is a very "cross" one from you about mine to General Schofield, recently published in the *Democrat.* As I am trying to preserve my own temper by avoiding irritants so far as practicable, I decline to read the cross letter. I think fit to say, however, that when I wrote the letter to General Schofield, I was totally unconscious of any malice or disrespect toward you, or of using any expression which should offend you if seen by you. I have not seen the document in the *Democrat,* and therefore can not say whether it is a correct copy.

(To General R. C. Schenck.) Returning to the Executive Room yesterday, I was mortified to find you were gone, leaving no word of explanation. I went down-stairs, as I understood, on a perfect understanding with you that you would remain till my return. I got this impression distinctly from "Edward," whom I believe you know. Possibly I misunderstood him. I had been very unwell in the morning, and had scarcely tasted food during the day, till the time you saw me

go down. I beg you will not believe I have treated you with intentional discourtesy.

24th. (To Postmaster-General Blair.) Yesterday little indorsements of mine went to you in two cases of postmasterships sought for widows whose husbands have fallen in the battles of this war. These cases occurring on the same day brought me to reflect more attentively than I had before done, as to what is fairly due from us here in the dispensing of patronage toward the men who, by fighting our battles, bear the chief burden of saving our country. My conclusion is that other claims and qualifications being equal, they have the better right; and this is especially applicable to the disabled soldier and the deceased soldier's family.

25th. (To the Secretary of the Navy.) Certain matters have come to my notice, and considered by me, which induce me to believe that it will conduce to the public interest for you to add to the general instructions given to our naval commanders in relation to contraband trade propositions substantially as follows, to-wit:

First, You will avoid the reality, and as far as possible the appearance, of using any neutral port, to watch neutral vessels, and then to dart out and seize them on their departure.

Note. Complaint is made that this has been practised at the port of St. Thomas, which practise, if it exists, is disapproved and must cease.

Second. You will not, in any case, detain the crew of a captured neutral vessel, or any other subject of a neutral power, on board such vessel, as prisoners of war or otherwise, except the small number necessary as witnesses in the prize court.

Note. The practise here forbidden is also charged to exist, which, if true, is disapproved and must cease.

What I propose is in strict accordance with international law, and is therefore unobjectionable, whilst, if it does no other good, it will contribute to sustain a considerable portion of the

present British ministry in their places, who, if displeased, are sure to be replaced by others more unfavorable to us.

28th. (To Mrs. Lincoln.) Bob went to Fort Monroe and only got back to-day. Will start to you at 11 A. M. to-morrow. All well.

30th. The government of the United States will give the same protection to all its soldiers; and if the enemy shall sell or enslave any one because of his color, the offense shall be punishable by retaliation upon the enemy's prisoners in our possession.

It is therefore ordered that for every soldier of the United States killed in violation of the laws of war, a rebel soldier shall be executed, and for every one enslaved by the enemy or sold into slavery, a rebel soldier shall be placed at hard labor on the public works, and continued at such labor until the other shall be released and receive the treatment due to a prisoner of war.

31st. The emancipation proclamation applies to Arkansas. I think it is valid in law, and will be so held by the courts. I think I shall not retract or repudiate it. Those who shall have tasted actual freedom I believe can never be slaves or quasi-slaves again. For the rest, I believe some plan substantially being gradual emancipation would be better for both white and black. The Missouri plan, recently adopted, I do not object to on account of the time for ending the institution; but I am sorry the beginning should have been postponed for seven years, leaving all that time to agitate for the repeal of the whole thing. It should begin at once, giving at least the new-born a vested interest in freedom which could not be taken away.

August 5th. (To General N. P. Banks.) Governor Boutwell read me to-day that part of your letter to him which relates to Louisiana affairs. While I very well know what I would be glad for Louisiana to do, it is quite a different thing

for me to assume direction of the matter. I would be glad for her to make a new constitution recognizing the emancipation proclamation, and adopting emancipation in those parts of the State to which the proclamation does not apply. And while she is at it, I think it would not be objectionable for her to adopt some practical system by which the two races could gradually live themselves out of the old relation to each other, and both come out better prepared for the new. Education for young blacks should be included in the plan. After all, the power or element of "contract" may be sufficient for this probationary period; and, by its simplicity and flexibility, may be the better.

7th. (To Governor Seymour.) I can not consent to suspend the draft in New York as you request, because, among other reasons, time is too important.

We are contending with an enemy, who, as I understand, drives every able-bodied man he can reach into his ranks, very much as a butcher drives bullocks into a slaughter pen. No time is wasted; no argument is used. This produces an army which will soon turn upon our now victorious soldiers, already in the field, if they shall not be sustained by recruits as they should be.

My purpose is to be in my action just and constitutional, and yet practical, in performing the important duty which I am charged—of maintaining the unity and the free principles of our common country.

8th. (To Mrs. Lincoln.) All is well as usual, and no particular trouble anyway. I put the money into the Treasury at five per cent., with the privilege of withdrawing it any time upon thirty days' notice. I suppose you are glad to learn this. Tell dear Tad poor "Nanny Goat" is lost, and Mrs. Cuthbert and I are in distress about it. The day you left, Nanny was found resting herself and chewing her little cud on the middle of Tad's bed; but now she's gone! The gardener

kept complaining that she destroyed the flowers till it was concluded to bring her down to the White House. This was done, and the second day she had disappeared and has not been heard of since. This is the last we know of poor Nanny. The weather continues dry and excessively warm. Nothing very important occurring.

9th. (To General U. S. Grant.) I see by a despatch of yours that you incline quite strongly toward an expedition against Mobile. This would appear tempting to me also, were it not that in view of recent events in Mexico I am greatly impressed with the importance of re-establishing the national authority in western Texas as soon as possible. I am not making an order, however; that I leave, for the present at least, to the general-in-chief.

A word upon another subject. General Thomas has gone again to the Mississippi Valley, with the view of raising colored troops. I have no reason to doubt that you are doing what you reasonably can upon the same subject. I believe it is a resource which if vigorously applied now will soon close the contest.

12th. I am constantly pressed by those who scold before they think, or without thinking at all, to give commands respectively to Fremont, McClellan, Butler, Sigel, Curtis, Hunter, Hooker, and perhaps others, when, all else out of the way, I have no commands to give them.

17th. (To James H. Hackett.) For one of my age I have seen very little of the drama. The first presentation of Falstaff I ever saw was yours here, last winter or spring. Perhaps the best compliment I can pay is to say, as I truly can, I am very anxious to see it again. Some of Shakespeare's plays I have never read, while others I have gone over perhaps as frequently as any unprofessional reader. Among the latter are Lear, Richard III., Henry VIII., Hamlet, and especially Macbeth. I think nothing equals Macbeth. It is wonderful.

Unlike you gentlemen of the profession, I think the soliloquy in Hamlet commencing "Oh, my offense is rank," surpasses that commencing "To be or not to be." But pardon this small attempt at criticism. I should like to hear you pronounce the opening speech of Richard III. Will you not soon visit Washington again? If you do, please call and let me make your personal acquaintance.

18th. (General Butler, driving with the President, at night, without military escort, asks him—Is it known that you ride thus alone at night out to the Soldiers' Home?)

Oh, yes, when business detains me until night. I do go out earlier, as a rule.

(Butler: I think you peril too much. We have passed a half-dozen places where a well-directed bullet might have taken you off.)

Oh, assassination of public officers is not an American crime.

21st. (To General G. G. Meade.) At this late moment I am appealed to in behalf of William Thompson of Company K, Third Maryland Volunteers, in Twelfth Army Corps, said to be at Kelly's Ford, under sentence to be shot to-day as a deserter. He is represented to me to be very young, with symptoms of insanity. Please postpone the execution till further order.

26th. The signs look better. The Father of Waters again goes unvexed to the sea. Thanks to the great Northwest for it. Nor yet wholly to them. Three hundred miles up they met New England, Empire, Keystone, and Jersey, hewing their way right and left. The Sunny South, too, in more colors than one, also lent a hand. On the spot, their part of the history was jotted down in black and white. The job was a great national one; and let none be banned who bore an honorable part in it. And while those who have cleared the great river may well be proud, even that is not all. It is hard to say

that anything has been more bravely and well done than at Antietam, Murphreesborough, Gettysburg, and on many fields of lesser note. Nor must Uncle Sam's web-feet be forgotten. At all the watery margins they have been present. Not only on the deep sea, the broad bay, and the rapid river, but also up the narrow, muddy bayou, and wherever the ground was a little damp, they have been and made their tracks. Thanks to all. For the great Republic—for the principle it lives by and keeps alive—for man's vast future—thanks to all.

September 2nd. (To Secretary Chase.) Knowing your great anxiety that the Emancipation Proclamation shall now be applied to certain parts of Virginia and Louisiana, which were exempted from it last January, I state briefly what appear to me to be difficulties in the way of such a step. The original proclamation has no constitutional or legal justification, except as a military measure. The exemptions were made because the military necessity did not apply to the exempted localities. Nor does that necessity apply to them now any more than it did then. If I take the step, must I not do so without the arguments of military necessity, and so without any argument except the one that I think the measure politically expedient and morally right? Would I not thus give up all footing upon Constitution or law? Would I not thus be in the boundless field of absolutism? Could this pass unnoticed or unresisted? Could it fail to be perceived that without any further stretch I might do the same in Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri, and even change any law in any State? Would not many of our friends shrink away appalled? Would it not lose us the elections and with them the very cause we seek to advance?

6th. Burnside has Kingston and Knoxville, and drove the enemy across the river at Loudon, the enemy destroying the bridge there; captured some stores and one or two trains; very little fighting; few wounded and none killed. No other news of consequence.

11th. (To Governor Andrew Johnson.) All Tennessee is now clear of armed insurrectionists. You need not to be reminded that it is the nick of time for reinaugurating a loyal State government. Not a moment should be lost. You and the cooperating friends there can better judge of the ways and means than can be judged by any here. I only offer a few suggestions. The reinauguration must not be such as to give control of the State and its representation in Congress to the enemies of the Union, driving its friends there into political exile. The whole struggle for Tennessee will have been profitless to both State and nation if it so ends that Governor Johnson is put down and Governor Harris is put up. It must not be so. You must have it otherwise. Let the reconstruction be the work of such men only as can be trusted for the Union.

15th. (A Proclamation.) I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do hereby proclaim and make known to all whom it may concern, that the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* is suspended throughout the United States in the several cases before mentioned, and that this suspension will continue throughout the duration of the said rebellion, or until this proclamation shall, by a subsequent one to be issued by the President of the United States, be modified or revoked.

(To General H. W. Halleck.) If I did not misunderstand General Meade's last despatch, he posts you on facts as well as he can, and desires your views and those of the government as to what he shall do. My opinion is that he should move upon Lee at once in manner of general attack, leaving to developments whether he will make it a real attack. I think this would develop Lee's real condition and purposes better than the cavalry alone can do. Of course my opinion is not to control you and General Meade.

19th. (To General H. W. Halleck.) By General Meade's despatch to you of yesterday, it appears that he desires your views and those of the government as to whether he shall ad-

vance upon the enemy. I am not prepared to order or even advise an advance in this case, wherein I know so little of particulars, and wherein he, in the field, thinks the risk is so great and the promise of advantage so small.

To avoid misunderstanding, let me say that to attempt to fight the enemy slowly back into his intrenchments at Richmond, and then to capture him, is an idea I have been trying to repudiate for quite a year.

My judgment is so clear against it that I would scarcely allow the attempt to be made if the general in command should desire to make it. My last attempt upon Richmond was to get McClellan, when he was nearer there than the enemy was, to run in ahead of him. Since then I have constantly desired the Army of the Potomac to make Lee's army, and not Richmond, its objective point. If our army can not fall upon the enemy and hurt him where he is, it is plain to me it can gain nothing by attempting to follow him over a succession of intrenched lines into a fortified city.

19th-20th. Chickamauga.

20th. (To Mrs. Lincoln.) I neither see nor hear anything of sickness here now, though there may be much without my knowing it. I wish you to stay, or come just as it is most agreeable to yourself.

21st. (To Mrs. Lincoln.) The air is so clear and cool and apparently healthy that I would be glad for you to come. Nothing very particular but I would be glad to see you and Tad.

I think it very important for General Rosecrans to hold his position at or about Chattanooga, because if held from that place to Cleveland, both inclusive, it keeps all Tennessee clear of the enemy, and also breaks one of his most important rail-

road lines. To prevent these consequences is so vital to his cause that he can not give up the effort to dislodge us from the position, thus bringing him to us and saving us the labor, expense, and hazard of going farther to find him, and also giving us the advantage of choosing our own ground and preparing it to fight him upon. The details must, of course, be left to General Rosecrans, while we must furnish him the means to the utmost of our ability.

(To General Burnside.) Go to Rosecrans with your force without a moment's delay.

(To General W. S. Rosecrans.) Be of good cheer. We have unabated confidence in you and in your soldiers and officers. In the main you must be the judge as to what is to be done. If I were to suggest, I would say save your army by taking strong positions until Burnside joins you, when I hope you can turn the tide. I think you had better send a courier to Burnside to hurry him up. We can not reach him by telegraph. We suppose some force is going to you from Corinth, but for want of communication we do not know how they are getting along. We shall do our utmost to assist you. Send us your present posting.

22nd. 8:30 P. M. (To Rosecrans.) We have not a word here as to the whereabouts or condition of your army up to a later hour than sunset Sunday, the 20th. Your despatches to me of 9 A. M. and to General Halleck of 2 P. M. yesterday, tell us nothing later on those points. Please relieve my anxiety as to the position and condition of your army up to the last moment.

23rd. 9:15 A. M. (To Rosecrans.) Below is Bragg's despatch as found in the Richmond papers. You see he does not claim so many prisoners or captured guns as you were inclined to concede. He also confesses to heavy loss. An exchanged general of ours leaving Richmond yesterday says two of Longstreet's divisions and his entire artillery and two of

Pickett's brigades and Wise's legion have gone to Tennessee. He mentions no other.

24th. (To Mrs. Lincoln.) We now have a tolerably accurate summing up of the late battle between Rosecrans and Bragg. The result is that we are worsted, if at all, only in the fact that we, after the main fighting was over, yielded the ground, thus leaving considerable of our artillery and wounded to fall into the enemy's hands, for which we got nothing in turn. We lost in general officers 1 killed and 3 or 4 wounded, all brigadiers, while, according to the rebel accounts which we have, they lost 6 killed and 8 wounded. Of the killed 1 major-general and 5 brigadiers, including your brother-in-law, Helm; and of the wounded 3 major-generals and 5 brigadiers. This list may be reduced to two in number by corrections of confusion in names. At 11:40 A. M. yesterday General Rosecrans telegraphed from Chattanooga, "We hold this point, and I can not be dislodged except by very superior numbers and after a great battle." A despatch leaving there after night yesterday says: "No fight to-day."

25th. (To General McCallum.) I have sent to General Meade, by telegraph, to suspend the execution of Daniel Sullivan of Company E, Thirteenth Massachusetts, which was to be to-day, but understanding there is an interruption on the line, may I beg you to send this to him by the quickest mode in your power?

27th. (To Burnside.) Hold your present positions, and send Rosecrans what you can spare, in the quickest and safest way. In the meantime hold the remainder as nearly in readiness to go to him as you can consistently with the duty it is to perform while it remains.

28th. (To Rosecrans.) We are sending you two small corps, one under General Howard and one under General Slocum, and the whole under General Hooker. Unfortunately the relations between Generals Hooker and Slocum are not such

as to promise good, if their present relative positions remain. Therefore, let me beg—almost enjoin upon you—that on their reaching you, you will make a transposition by which General Slocum with his corps may pass from under the command of General Hooker, and General Hooker, in turn, receive some other equal force. It is important for this to be done, though we could not well arrange it here.

October 1st. (To General J. M. Schofield.) Under your recent order, which I have approved, you will only arrest individuals and suppress assemblies or newspapers (in Missouri) when they may be working palpable injury to the military in your charge, and in no other case will you interfere with the expression of opinion in any form or allow it to be interfered with violently by others. In this you have a discretion to exercise, with great caution, calmness, and forbearance. With the matters of removing the inhabitants of certain counties *en masse,* and of removing certain individuals from time to time who are supposed to be mischievous, I am not now interfering, but am leaving to your own discretion. Nor am I interfering with what may still seem to you to be necessary restrictions upon trade and intercourse. I think proper, however, to enjoin upon you the following: Allow no part of the military under your command to be engaged in either returning fugitive slaves or in forcing or enticing slaves from their homes, and, so far as practicable, enforce the same forbearance upon the people.

3rd. (A Proclamation.) The year that is drawing toward its close has been filled with the blessings of fruitful fields and healthful skies. To these bounties, which are so constantly enjoyed that we are prone to forget the source from which they come, others have been added, which are of so extraordinary a nature that they can not fail to penetrate and soften the heart which is habitually insensible to the ever-watchful providence of Almighty God.

In the midst of a civil war of unequal magnitude and severity, which has sometimes seemed to foreign states to invite and provoke their aggressions, peace has been preserved with all nations, order has been maintained, the laws have been respected and obeyed, and harmony has prevailed everywhere, except in the theater of military conflict, while that theater has been greatly contracted by the advancing armies and navies of the Union.

No human counsel hath devised, nor hath any mortal hand worked out these great things. They are the gracious gifts of the most high God, who, while dealing with us in anger for our sins, hath nevertheless remembered mercy.

It has seemed to me fit and proper that they should be solemnly, reverently, and gratefully acknowledged as with one heart and one voice by the whole American people. I do, therefore, invite my fellow-citizens in every part of the United States, and also those who are at sea and those who are sojourning in foreign lands, to set apart and observe the last Thursday of November next as a day of thanksgiving and praise to our beneficent Father who dwelleth in the heavens.

4th. If we can hold Chattanooga and East Tennessee, I think the rebellion must dwindle and die.

5th. We are in civil war. In such cases there always is a main question; but in this case that question is a perplexing compound—Union and slavery. It thus becomes a question not of two sides merely, but of at least four sides, even among those who are for the Union, saying nothing of those who are against it. Thus, those who are for the Union with, but not without, slavery; those for it without, but not with; those for it with or without, but prefer it with; and those for it with or without, but prefer it without. Among these, again, is a subdivision of those who are for gradual, but not for immediate, and those who are for immediate, but not for gradual, extinction of slavery. It is easy to conceive that all these shades of

opinion, and even more, may be sincerely entertained by honest and truthful men. Yet, all being for the Union, by reason of these differences each will prefer a different way of sustaining the Union. At once sincerity is questioned, and motives are assailed. Actual war coming, blood grows hot, and blood is spilled. Thought is forced from old channels into confusion. Deception breeds and thrives. Confidence dies and universal suspicion reigns. Each man feels an impulse to kill his neighbor, lest he be first called by him. Revenge and retaliation follow. And all this, as before said, may be among honest men only; but this is not all. Every foul bird comes abroad and every dirty reptile rises up.

To restrain contraband intelligence and trade, a system of searches, seizures, permits, and passes had been introduced (in Missouri) by General Fremont. When General Halleck came, he found and continued this system, and added an order, applicable to some parts of the State, to levy and collect contributions from noted rebels, to compensate losses and relieve destitution caused by the rebellion. The action of General Fremont and General Halleck, as stated, constituted a sort of system, which General Curtis found in full operation when he took command of the department. That there was a necessity for something of the sort was clear, but that it could only be justified by stern necessity and that it was liable to great abuse in administration, was equally clear. Agents to execute it, contrary to the great prayer, were led into temptation. Some might, while others would not, resist that temptation. It was not possible to hold any to a very strict accountability, and those yielding to the temptation would sell permits and passes to those who would pay most and most readily for them; and would seize property and collect levies in the aptest way to fill their own pockets. Money being the object, the man having money, whether loyal or disloyal, would be a victim. This practise doubtless existed to some extent, and it was a real

additional evil that it could be and was plausibly charged to exist in greater extent than it did.

12th. (To Rosecrans.) As I understand, Burnside is menaced from the east, and so can not go to you without surrendering East Tennessee. I now think the enemy will not attack Chattanooga and I think you will have to look out for his making a concentrated drive at Burnside. You and Burnside now have him by the throat, and he must break your hold or perish. I therefore think you better try to hold the road up to Kingston, leaving Burnside to what is above there. Sherman is coming to you, though gaps in the telegraph prevent our knowing how far he is advanced. He and Hooker will so support you on the west and northwest as to enable you to look east and northeast.

13th. The enemy some days ago made a movement, apparently to turn General Meade's right. This led to a maneuvering of the two armies and to pretty heavy skirmishing on Saturday, Sunday and Monday. We have frequent despatches from General Meade, and up to 10 o'clock last night nothing had happened giving either side any marked advantage.

14th. (To Thurlow Weed.) I have been brought to fear recently that somehow, by commission or omission, I have caused you some degree of pain. I have never entertained an unkind feeling or a disparaging thought toward you; if I have said or done anything which has been construed into such unkindness or disparagement, it has been misconstrued. I am sure if we could meet we would not part with any unpleasant impression on either side.

16th. (To T. W. Sweeney.) Tad is teasing me to have you forward his pistol to him.

17th. (A Proclamation.) Whereas, the term of service of a part of the volunteer forces of the United States will expire during the coming year; and whereas, in addition to the men raised by the present draft, it is deemed expedient

to call out three hundred thousand volunteers to serve for three years of the war, not, however, exceeding three years;

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States and Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy thereof, and of the militia of the several States when called into actual service, do issue this, my proclamation, calling upon the Governments of the different States to raise and have enlisted into the United States service, for the various companies and regiments in the field from their respective States, their quotas of three hundred thousand men.

18th. (To John Hay, discussing Chase's secret attempt to supplant Lincoln as Republican leader.) It is very bad taste but I am determined to shut my eyes to all these performances. Mr. Chase makes a good secretary and I shall keep him where he is. If he becomes President, all right. I hope we may never have a worse man. I have all along seen clearly his plan of strengthening himself. Whenever he sees that an important matter is troubling me, if I am compelled to decide it any way to give offense to a man of some influence, he always ranges himself in opposition to me and persuades the victim that he, Chase, would have arranged it differently. I am entirely indifferent as to his failure or success in these schemes so long as he does his duty as head of the Treasury department.

24th. (To Halleck.) Taking all our information together, I think it probable that Ewell's corps has started for East Tennessee by way of Abingdon, marching last Monday, say, from Meade's front directly to the railroad at Charlottesville.

First, the object of Lee's recent movement against Meade; his destruction of the Alexandria and Orange Railroad, and subsequent withdrawal, without more motive, not otherwise apparent, would be explained by the hypothesis.

Secondly, the direct statement of Sharpe's men that Ewell has gone to Tennessee.

If you have a plan matured, I have nothing to say. If you have not, then I suggest that, with all possible expedition, the Army of the Potomac get ready to attack Lee, and that in the meantime a raid shall, at all hazards, break the railroad at or near Lynchburg.

26th. (To George H. Boker.) It is with heartfelt gratification that I acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 6th, and the accompanying medal by which I am made an honorary member of the Union League of Philadelphia.

29th. (To General G. G. Meade.) I see in a newspaper that you have recently approved sentences of death for desertion of Thomas Sands, James Haley, H. H. Williams, Mathias Brown, alias Albert Brown, H. C. Beardsley, and George F. Perkins. Several of these are persons in behalf of whom appeals have been made to me. Please send me a short statement of each one of the cases, stating the age of each, so far as you can.

November 2nd. (To Postmaster-General Blair.) Some days ago I understood you to say that your brother, General Frank Blair, desires to be guided by my wishes as to whether he will occupy his seat in Congress or remain in the field. My wish, then, is compounded of what I believe will be best for the country and best for him, and it is that he will come here, put his military commission in my hands, take his seat, go into caucus with our friends, abide by the nominations, help elect the nominees, and thus aid to organize a House of Representatives which will really support the government in the war. If the result shall be the election of himself as Speaker, let him serve in that position; if not, let him take his commission and return to the army for the benefit of the country.

(To James H. Hackett.) My note to you I certainly did not expect to see in print, yet I have not been much shocked by the newspaper comments upon it. Those comments constitute a fair specimen of what has occurred to me through

life. I have endured a great deal of ridicule without much malice; and have received a great deal of kindness, not quite free from ridicule. I am used to it.

3rd. (To General G. G. Meade.) Samuel Wellers, private in Company B, Forty-ninth Pennsylvania Volunteers, writes that he is to be shot for desertion on the 6th instant. His own story is rather a bad one, and yet he tells it so frankly, that I am somewhat interested in him. Has he been a good soldier except the desertion? About how old is he?

9th. In a conversation with General Butler, he made a suggestion which impressed me a good deal at the time. It was that, as a preliminary step, a vote be taken (in Louisiana) yea or nay, whether there shall be a State convention to repeal the ordinance of secession and remodel the State constitution.

The point which impressed me was, not so much the questions to be voted on, as the effect of crystallizing, so to speak, in taking such popular vote on any popular question.

In fact, I have always thought the act of secession is legally nothing, and needs no repealing.

11th. (To John Milderborger.) I can not comprehend the object of your despatch. I do not often decline seeing people who call upon me, and probably will see you if you call.

(To Secretary Stanton.) I personally wish Jacob Freese, of New Jersey, to be appointed colonel for a colored regiment, and this regardless of whether he can tell the exact shade of Julius Cæsar's hair.

17th. (To Secretary Chase.) I expected to see you here at Cabinet meeting, and to say something about going to Gettysburg. There will be a train to take and return us. The time for starting is not yet fixed; but when it shall be, I will notify you.

19th. At Gettysburg.

Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedi-

cated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But in a larger sense, we can not dedicate, we can not consecrate, we can not hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

20th. Washington.

(To Edward Everett.) Your kind note of to-day is received. In our respective parts yesterday, you could not have been excused to make a short address, nor I a long one. I am pleased to know that, in your judgment, the little I did say was not entirely a failure.

Of course, I knew Mr. Everett would not fail, and yet, while the whole discourse was eminently satisfactory, and will be of great value, there were passages in it which transcended my expectations.

The point made against the theory of the General Government being only an agency whose principals are the States,

was new to me, and, as I think, is one of the best arguments for the national supremacy. The tribute to our noble women for their angel ministering to the suffering soldiers surpasses in its way, as do the subjects of it, whatever has gone before.

Our sick boy, for whom you kindly inquire, we hope is past the worst.

(To General G. G. Meade.) If there is a man by the name of King under sentence to be shot, please suspend execution till further order, and send record.

An intelligent woman in deep distress, called this morning, saying her husband, a lieutenant in the Army of the Potomac, was to be shot next Monday for desertion, and putting a letter in my hand, upon which I relied for particulars, she left without mentioning a name or other particular by which to identify the case. On opening the letter I found it equally vague, having nothing to identify by, except her own signature, which seems to be "Mrs. Anna S. King." I could not again find her. If you have a case which you shall think is probably the one intended, please apply my despatch of this morning to it.

I am very glad the elections this autumn have gone favorably, and that I have not, by native depravity or under evil influences, done anything bad enough to prevent the good result. I hope to "stand firm" enough to not go backward, and yet not go forward fast enough to wreck the country's cause.

23rd. (To E. P. Evans.) Yours to Governor Chase in behalf of John A. Welch is before me. Can there be a worse case than to desert and with letters persuading others to desert? I can not interpose without a better showing than you make. When did he desert? When did he write this letter?

24th-25th. Chattanooga.

December 7th. (To Mrs. Lincoln.) All doing well. Tad confidently expects you to-night. When will you come? Tad

has received his book. The carriage shall be ready at 6 P. M. to-morrow.

(Announcement of Union success in East Tennessee.) Reliable information being received that the insurgent force is retreating from East Tennessee, under circumstances rendering it probable that the Union forces can not hereafter be dislodged from that important position, and esteeming this to be of high national consequence, I recommend that all loyal people do, on receipt of this information, assemble at their places of worship, and render special homage and gratitude to Almighty God for this great advancement of the national cause.

8th. (A Proclamation.) Whereas, it is now desired by some persons heretofore engaged in said rebellion to resume their allegiance to the United States, and to reinaugurate loyal State governments within and for their respective States: Therefore

I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do proclaim, declare, and make known to all persons who have, directly or by implication, participated in the existing rebellion, except as hereinafter excepted, that a full pardon is hereby granted to them and each of them, with restoration of all rights of property, except as to slaves, and in property cases where rights of third parties shall have intervened, and upon the condition that every such person shall take and subscribe an oath, and thenceforward keep and maintain said oath inviolate; and which oath shall be registered for permanent preservation, and shall be of the tenor and effect following, to-wit:

"I, ————————, do solemnly swear, in presence of Almighty God, that I will henceforth faithfully support, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and the union of the States thereunder; and that I will, in like manner, abide by and faithfully support all acts of Congress

passed during the existing rebellion with reference to slaves, so long and so far as not repealed, modified, or held void by Congress, or by decision of the Supreme Court; and that I will, in like manner, abide by and faithfully support all proclamations of the President made during the existing rebellion having reference to slaves, so long and so far as not modified or declared void by decision of the Supreme Court. So help me God."

The persons exempted from the benefits of the foregoing provisions are all who are, or shall have been, civil or diplomatic officers or agents of the so-called Confederate Government; all who have left judicial stations under the United States to aid the rebellion; all who are or shall have been military or naval officers of said so-called Confederate Government above the rank of colonel in the army or of lieutenant in the navy; all who left seats in the United States Congress to aid the rebellion; all who resigned commissions in the army or navy of the United States and afterward aided the rebellion; and all who have engaged in any way in treating colored persons, or white persons in charge of such, otherwise than lawfully as prisoners of war, and which persons may have been found in the United States service as soldiers, seamen, or in any other capacity.

And I do further proclaim, declare, and make known that whenever, in any of the States of Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina, and North Carolina, a number of persons, not less than one-tenth in number of the votes cast in such State at the presidential election of the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty each having taken the oath aforesaid and not having since violated it, and being a qualified voter by the election law of the State existing immediately before the so-called act of secession, and excluding all others, shall re-establish a State government which shall be republican, and

in no wise contravening said oath, such shall be recognized as the true government of the State, and the State shall receive thereunder the benefits of the constitutional provision which declares that: "the United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and, on application of the Legislature, or the executive (when the Legislature can not be convened), against domestic violence."

And I do further proclaim, declare, and make known, that any provision which may be adopted by such State government in relation to the freed people of such State, which shall recognize and declare their permanent freedom, provide for their education, and which may yet be consistent as a temporary arrangement with their present condition as a laboring, landless, and homeless class, will not be objected to by the national Executive.

When Congress assembled a year ago the war had already lasted nearly twenty months, and there had been many conflicts on both land and sea with varying results. The rebellion had been pressed back into reduced limits; yet the tone of public feeling and opinion, at home and abroad, was not satisfactory. With other signs, the popular elections, then just past, indicated uneasiness among ourselves while, amid much that was cold and menacing, the kindest words coming from Europe were uttered in accents of pity that we were too blind to surrender a hopeless cause. Our commerce was suffering greatly by a few armed vessels built upon, and furnished from, foreign shores, and we were threatened with such additions from the same quarter as would sweep our trade from the sea and raise our blockade. We had failed to elicit from European governments anything hopeful upon this subject. The preliminary emancipation proclamation, issued in September, was running its assigned period to the beginning of the new year. A month later the final proclamation came, includ-

ing the announcement that colored men of suitable condition would be received into the war service. The policy of emancipation, and of employing black soldiers gave to the future a new aspect, about which hope, fear, and doubt contended in uncertain conflict. According to our political system, as a matter of civil administration, the Government had no lawful power to effect emancipation in any State, and for a long time it had been hoped that the rebellion could be suppressed without resorting to it as a military measure. It was all the while deemed possible that the necessity for it might come, and that if it should, the crisis of the contest would then be presented. It came, and, as was anticipated, it was followed by dark and doubtful days. Eleven months having now passed, we are permitted to take another review. The rebel borders are pressed still further back, and, by the complete opening of the Mississippi, the country dominated by the rebellion is divided into distinct parts, with no practical communication between them. Tennessee and Arkansas have been substantially cleared of insurgent control, and influential citizens in each, owners of slaves and advocates of slavery at the beginning of the rebellion, now declare openly for emancipation in their respective States. Of those States not included in the Emancipation Proclamation, Maryland and Missouri, neither of which three years ago would tolerate any restraint upon the extension of slavery into new territories, only dispute now as to the best mode of removing it within their own limits.

Of those who were slaves at the beginning of the rebellion, full 100,000 are now in the U. S. military service, about one-half of which number actually bear arms in the ranks, thus giving the double advantage of taking so much labor from the insurgent cause, and supplying the places which otherwise must be filled with so many white men. So far as attested, it is difficult to say they are not as good soldiers as any. No servile insurrection, or tendency to violence or cruelty, has

marked the measures of emancipation and arming the blacks.

These measures have been much discussed in foreign countries, and contemporary with such discussion the tone of public sentiment there is much improved. At home the same measures have been fully discussed, supported, criticized, and denounced and the annual elections following are highly encouraging to those whose official duty it is to bear the country through this great trial. Thus we have the new reckoning. The crises which threatened to divide the friends of the Union is past.

The proposed acquiescence of the national Executive in any reasonable temporary State arrangement for the freed people is made with the view of possibly modifying the confusion and destitution which must at best attend all classes by a total revolution of labor throughout whole States. It is hoped that the already deeply afflicted people in those States may be somewhat more ready to give up the cause of their affliction, if, to this extent, this vital matter be left to themselves; while no power of the national executive to prevent an abuse is abridged by the proposition.

The movements, by State action, for emancipation in several of the States not included in the Emancipation Proclamation are matters of profound gratulation. And while I do not repeat in detail what I have heretofore so earnestly urged upon this subject, my general views and feelings remain unchanged; and I trust that Congress will omit no fair opportunity of aiding these important steps to a great consummation.

In the midst of other cares, however important, we must not lose sight of the fact that the war power is still our main reliance. To that power alone can we look yet for a time, to give confidence to the people in the contested regions that the insurgent power will not again overrun them. Until that

confidence shall be established, little can be done anywhere for what is called reconstruction. Hence our chiefest care must still be directed to the Army and Navy, who have thus far borne their harder part so nobly and well. And it may be esteemed fortunate that in giving the greatest efficiency to these indispensable arms, we do also honorably recognize the gallant men, from commander to sentinel, who compose them, and to whom, more than to others, the world must stand indebted for the home of freedom disenthralled, enlarged, and perpetuated.

(To General U. S. Grant.) Understanding that your lodgment at Chattanooga and Knoxville is now secure, I wish to tender you, and all under your command my more than thanks, my profoundest gratitude for the skill, courage and perseverance with which you and they, over so great difficulties, have effected that important object. God bless you all.

(To Mother Mary Gonyeag.) The President has no authority as to whether you may raffle for the benevolent object you mention. If there is no objection in the Iowa laws, there is none here.

17th. (To General S. A. Hurlbut.) I understand you have under sentence of death, a tall old man, by the name of Henry F. Luckett. I personally know him, and did not think him a bad man. Please do not let him be executed unless upon further order from me, and in the meantime send me a transcript of the record.

18th. (To Secretary Stanton.) I believe General Schofield must be relieved from command of the department of Missouri; otherwise a question of veracity, in relation to his declarations as to his interfering, or not, with the Missouri legislature, will be made with him, which will create an additional amount of trouble, not to be overcome by even a correct decision of the question. The question itself must be avoided. Now for the mode. Senator Henderson, his friend, thinks he can be induced

to ask to be relieved; if he shall understand he will be generously treated; and, on this latter point, Grant Brown will help his nomination as a major-general through the Senate. In no other way can he be confirmed; and upon his rejection alone it would be difficult for me to sustain him as commander of the department. Besides, his being relieved from command of the department, and at the same time confirmed as a major-general will be the means of Henderson and Brown leading off together as friends, and will go far to heal the Missouri difficulty. Another point. I find it is scarcely less than indispensable for me to do something for General Rosecrans; and I find Henderson and Brown will agree to him for the commander of their department.

25th. (To Bayard Taylor.) I think a good lecture or two on Serfs, Serfdom, and Emancipation in Russia would be both interesting and valuable. Could not you get up such a thing?

January 7th. The case of Andrews (a deserter) is really a very bad one, as appears by the record already before me. Yet before receiving this I had ordered his punishment commuted to imprisonment for during the war at hard labor, and had so telegraphed. I did this, not on any merit in the case, but because I am trying to evade the butchering business lately.

16th. (To Crosby and Nichols.) The number of this month and year of the *North American Review* was duly received, and for which please accept my thanks. Of course, I am not the most impartial judge; yet, with due allowance for this, I venture to hope that the article entitled "The President's Policy" will be of value to the country. I fear I am not quite worthy of all which is therein kindly said of me personally.

The sentence of twelve lines, commencing at the top of pages 252, I could wish to be not exactly as it is. In what is there expressed, the writer has not correctly understood me. I have never had a theory that secession could absolve States or people from their obligations. Precisely the contrary is asserted in the inaugural address; and it was because of my belief in the continuation of these *obligations* that I was puzzled, for a time, as to denying the legal *rights* of those citizens who remained individually innocent of treason or rebellion. But I mean no more now than to merely call attention to this point.

20th. (To General J. J. Reynolds.) It would appear by the accompanying papers that Mrs. Mary E. Morton is the

owner, independently of her husband, of a certain building, premises, and furniture which she, with her children, has been occupying and using peaceably during the war until recently, when the Provost-Marshal has, in the name of the United States Government, seized the whole of said property, and ejected her from it. It also appears by her statement to me that her husband went off in the rebellion at the beginning, wherein he still remains.

It would seem that this seizure has not been made for any military object, as for a place of storage, a hospital, or the like, because this would not have required the seizure of the furniture, and especially not the return of furniture previously taken away.

The seizure must have been on some claim of confiscation, a matter of which the courts, and not the provost-marshals or other military officers, are to judge. In this very case would probably be the questions, "Is either the husband or wife a traitor?" "Does the property belong to the husband or to the wife?" "Is the property of the wife confiscable for the treason of the husband?" and other similar questions, all which it is ridiculous for a provost-marshal to assume to decide.

The true rule for the military is to seize such property as is needed for military uses and reasons, and let the rest alone. Cotton and other staple articles of commerce are seizable for military reasons. Dwelling houses and furniture seldom are. If Mrs. Morton is playing traitor to the extent of practical injury, seize her, but leave her house to the courts. Please revise and adjust this case upon these principles.

23rd. (To Alpheus Lewis.) You have inquired how the government would regard and treat cases wherein the owners of plantations, in Arkansas, for instance, might fully recognize the freedom of those formerly slaves, and by fair contracts of hire with them, recommence the cultivation of their plantations. I answer, I should regard such cases with great favor, and

should as a principle treat them precisely as I would treat the same number of free white people in the same relation and condition. Whether white or black, reasonable effort should be made to give government protection.

February 1st. (To Secretary Stanton.) You are directed to have a transport (either a steam or sailing vessel, as may be deemed proper by the Quartermaster-General) sent to the colored colony established by the United States at the island of Vache, on the coast of San Domingo, to bring back to this country such of the colonists there as desire to return. You will have the transport furnished with suitable supplies for that purpose, and detail an officer of the Quartermaster's Department who, under special instructions to be given, shall have charge of the business. The colonists will be brought to Washington, unless otherwise hereafter directed, and be employed and provided for at the camps for colored persons around that city. Those only will be brought from the island who desire to return, and their effects will be brought with them.

Ordered, That a draft for 500,000 men, to serve for three years or during the war, be made on the 10th day of March next, for the military service of the United States, crediting and deducting therefrom so many as may have been enlisted or drafted into the service prior to the 1st day of March, and not before credited.

5th. On principle I dislike an oath which requires a man to swear he has not done wrong. It rejects the Christian principle of forgiveness on terms of repentance. I think it is enough if the man does no wrong hereafter.

17th. (To W. M. Fishback.) When I fixed a plan for an election in Arkansas I did it in ignorance that your convention was doing the same work. Since I learned the latter fact I have been constantly trying to yield my plan to theirs. I have sent two letters to General Steele, and three or four despatches

to you and others, saying that he, (General Steele) must be master, but that it will probably be best for him to merely help the convention on its own plan. Some single mind must be master, else there will be no agreement in anything; and General Steele, commanding the military and being on the ground, is the best man to be that master. Even now citizens are telegraphing me to postpone the election to a later day than either that fixed by the convention or by me. This discord must be silenced.

18th. (To Governor Andrew.) Yours of the 12th was received yesterday. If I were to judge from the letter, without any external knowledge, I should suppose that all the colored people south of Washington were struggling to get to Massachusetts; that Massachusetts was anxious to receive and retain the whole of them as permanent citizens, and that the United States Government here was interposing and preventing this. But I suppose these are neither really the facts nor meant to be asserted as true by you. Coming down to what I suppose to be the real facts, you are engaged in trying to raise colored troops for the United States, and wish to take recruits from Virginia through Washington to Massachusetts for that object, and the loyal governor of Virginia, also trying to raise troops for us, objects to your taking his material away, while we, having to care for all and being responsible alike to all, have to do as much for him as we would have to do for you if he was by our authority taking men from Massachusetts to fill up Virginia regiments. No more than this has been intended by me, nor, as I think, by the Secretary of War. There may have been some abuses of this, as a rule, which, if known, should be prevented in future. If, however, it be really true that Massachusetts wishes to afford a permanent home within her borders for all or even a large number of colored persons who will come to her, I shall be only too glad to know it. It would give relief in a very difficult point, and I would not for

a moment hinder from going any person who is free by the terms of the proclamation, or any of the acts of Congress.

25th. (To General F. Steele.) General Sickles is not going to Arkansas. He probably will make a tour down the Mississippi and home by the gulf and ocean, but he will not meddle in your affairs. At one time I did intend to have him call on you and explain more fully than I could do by letter or telegraph, so as to avoid a difficulty coming of my having made a plan here, while the convention made one there, for reorganizing Arkansas; but even his doing that has been given up for more than two weeks. Please show this to Governor Murphy to save me telegraphing him.

27th. No person who has taken the oath of amnesty of eighth December, 1863, and obtained a pardon thereby, and who intends to observe the same in good faith, should have any objection to taking that prescribed by Governor Johnson (of Tennessee) as a test of loyalty. I have seen and examined Governor Johnson's proclamation, and am entirely satisfied with his plan, which is to restore the State government and place it under the control of citizens truly loyal to the Government of the United States.

A paper known as the Pomeroy Circular is distributed confidentially for the purpose of making Chase the Republican nominee for President. At last it is made public and Chase writes to the President disowning it.

29th. (To Secretary Chase.) My knowledge of Mr. Pomeroy's letter having been made public came to me only the day you wrote; but I had, in spite of myself, known of its existence several days before. I have not yet read it, and I think I shall not. I was not shocked or surprised by the appearance of the letter, because I had had knowledge of Mr. Pomeroy's committee, and of secret issues which, I supposed,

came from it, and of secret agents who, I supposed, were sent out by it, for several weeks. I have known just as little of these things as my friends have allowed me to know. They bring the documents to me, but I do not read them; they tell me what they think fit to tell me, but I do not inquire for more.

I fully concur with you that neither of us can be justly held responsible for what our respective friends may do without our instigation or countenance; and I assure you, as you have assured me, that no assault has been made upon you by my instigation or with my countenance.

Whether you shall remain at the head of the Treasury Department is a question which I will not allow myself to consider from any stand-point other than my judgment of the public service, and, in that view, I do not perceive occasion for a change.

(Commenting on Chase.) My half-brother was once ploughing corn on a Kentucky farm. I was driving the horse and he holding the plough. The horse was lazy, but on one occasion rushed across the field so fast that I, even with my long legs, could hardly keep pace with him. On reaching the end of the furrow, I found an enormous chin-fly fastened upon him, and knocked him off. My brother asked me what I did that for. I told him I didn't want the old horse bitten in that way. "Why," said he, "that's what makes him go." If Mr. Chase has a Presidential chin-fly biting him, I'm not going to knock him off, if it will only make his department go.*

March 1st. (To Secretary Stanton.) A poor widow, by the name of Baird, has a son in the army, that for some offense has been sentenced to serve a long time without pay, or at most with very little pay. I do not like this punishment of withholding pay—it falls so very hard upon poor families. After he had been serving in this way for several months, at the tearful appeal of the poor mother, I made a direction that he be

*Date approximate.

allowed to enlist for a new term, on the same conditions as others. She now comes and says she can not get it acted upon. Please do it.

4th. (To Secretary Chase.) In consequence of a call Mr. Villard makes on me, having a note from you to him, I am induced to say I have no wish for the publication of the correspondence between yourself and me in relation to the Pomeroy circular—in fact, rather prefer to avoid any unnecessary exhibition; yet you are at liberty, without in the least offending me, to allow the publication if you choose.

7th. I am very anxious for emancipation to be effected in Maryland in some substantial form. I think it probable that my expressions of a preference for gradual over immediate emancipation are misunderstood. I had thought the gradual would produce less confusion and destitution; and therefore would be more satisfactory; but if those who are better acquainted with the subject, and are more deeply interested in it, prefer the immediate, most certainly I have no objection to their judgment prevailing. My wish is that all who are for emancipation in any form, shall cooperate, all treating all respectfully, and all adopting and acting upon the major opinion when fairly ascertained. What I have dreaded is the danger that by jealousies, rivalries, and consequent ill-blood—driving one another out of meetings and conventions—perchance from the polls—the friends of emancipation themselves may divide, and lose the measure altogether.

9th. (To General Grant.) The expression of the nation's approbation of what you have already done, and its reliance on you for what remains to do in the existing great struggle, is now presented with this commission, constituting you Lieutenant-General of the Army of the United States.

With this high honor, devolves an additional responsibility. As the country herein trusts you, so, under God, it will sustain you. I scarcely need add, that with what I here speak for the country, goes my own hearty personal concurrence.

13th. (To Governor Michael Hahn.) I congratulate you on having fixed your name in history as the first Free State Governor of Louisiana. Now you are about to have a convention, which, among other things, will probably define the elective franchise. I barely suggest, for your private consideration, whether some of the colored people may not be let in, as, for instance, the very intelligent, and especially those who have fought gallantly in our ranks.

(To General C. Schurz.) Yours of February 29 reached me only four days ago; but the delay was of little consequence, because I found, on feeling around, I could not invite you here without a difficulty which at least would be unpleasant, and perhaps would be detrimental to the public service. Allow me to suggest that if you wish to remain in the military service, it is very dangerous for you to get temporarily out of it; because, with a major-general once out, it is next to impossible for even the President to get him in again. With my appreciation of your ability and correct principle, of course I would be very glad to have your service for the country in the approaching political canvass; but I fear we can not properly have it without separating you from the military.

18th. In this extraordinary war, extraordinary developments have manifested themselves, such as have not been seen in former wars; and amongst these manifestations nothing has been more remarkable than these fairs for the relief of suffering soldiers and their families. And the chief agents in these fairs are the women of America. I am not accustomed to the use of language of eulogy; I have never studied the art of paying compliments to women; but I must say, that if all that has been said by orators and poets since the creation of the world in praise of women were applied to the women of America, it would not do them justice for their conduct during this war. I will close by saying, God bless the women of America.

21st. (To a Committee from the Working Men's Association of New York.) The honorary membership in your association, as generously tendered, is gratefully accepted.

You comprehend, as your address shows, that the existing rebellion means more, and tends to more, than the perpetuation of African slavery—that it is, in fact, a war upon the rights of all working people.

None are so deeply interested to resist the present rebellion as the working people. Let them beware of prejudices working division and hostility among themselves. The most notable feature of a disturbance in your city last summer was the hanging of some working people by other working people. The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations, and tongues, and kindreds. Nor should this lead to a war upon property, or the owners of property. Property is the fruit of labor; property is desirable; is a positive good in the world. That some should be rich shows that others may become rich, and hence is just encouragement to industry and enterprise. Let not him who is houseless pull down the house of another, but let him work diligently and build one for himself, thus by example assuming that his own shall be safe from violence when built.

23rd. (To General C. Schurz.) I perceive no objection to your making a political speech when you are where one is to be made; but quite surely speaking in the North and fighting in the South at the same time are not possible; nor could I be justified to detail any officer to the political campaign during its continuance and then return him to the army.

29th. (To Meade.) Your letter to Colonel Townsend, inclosing a slip from the *Herald,* and asking a court of inquiry, has been laid before me by the Secretary of War, with the request that I would consider it. It is quite natural that you

should feel some sensibility on the subject; yet I am not impressed, nor do I think the country is impressed, with the belief that your honor demands, or the public interest demands, such an inquiry. The country knows that at all events you have done good service; and I believe it agrees with me that it is much better for you to be engaged in trying to do more than to be diverted, as you necessarily would be, by a court of inquiry.

(To General U. S. Grant.) Captain Kinney, of whom I spoke to you as desiring to go on your staff, is now in your camp, in company with Mrs. Senator Dixon. Mrs. Grant and I and some others, agreed last night that I should, by this despatch, kindly call your attention to Captain Kinney.

April 4th. I am naturally anti-slavery. If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong. I can not remember when I did not so think and feel, and yet I have never understood that the presidency conferred upon me an unrestricted right to act officially upon this judgment and feeling. It was in the oath I took that I would, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States. I could not take the office without taking the oath. Nor was it my view that I might take an oath to get power, and break the oath in using the power. I understood, too, that in ordinary civil administration this oath even forbade me to practically indulge my primary abstract judgment on the moral question of slavery. I had publicly declared this many times, and in many ways. And I aver that, to this day, I have done no official act in mere deference to my abstract judgment and feeling on slavery. I did understand, however, that my oath to preserve the Constitution to the best of my ability, imposed upon me the duty of preserving, by every indispensable means, that government—that nation, of which that Constitution was the organic law. Was it possible to lose the nation and yet preserve the Constitution? By general law, life and limb

must be protected, yet often a limb must be amputated to save a life; but a life is never wisely given to save a limb. I felt that measures otherwise unconstitutional might become lawful by becoming indispensable to the preservation of the nation. Right or wrong, I assume this ground, and now avow it.

I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that events have controlled me.

5th. (To Mrs. Horace Mann.) The petition of persons under eighteen, praying that I would free all slave children, and the heading of which petition it appears you wrote, was handed me a few days since by Senator Sumner. Please tell these little people I am very glad their young hearts are so full of just and generous sympathy, and that, while I have not the power to grant all they ask, I trust they will remember that God has, and that, as it seems, He wills to do it.

(To the Senate of the United States.) I nominate Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, to be Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, *vice* Robert B. Taney deceased.

18th. A painful rumor, true, I fear, has reached us, of the massacre, by the rebel forces at Fort Pillow, in the west end of Tennessee, on the Mississippi River, of some three hundred colored soldiers and white officers, who had just been overpowered by their assailants. There seems to be some anxiety in the public mind whether the government is doing its duty to the colored soldier, and to the service, at this point. At the beginning of the war, and for some time, the use of colored troops was not contemplated; and how the change of purpose was wrought I will not now take time to explain. Upon a clear conviction of duty, I resolved to turn that element of strength to account, and I am responsible for it to the American people, to the Christian world, to history, and in my final account to God. Having determined to use the negro as a soldier, there is no way but to give him all the protection given to any other soldier. The difficulty is not in stating the

principle, but in practically applying it. It is a mistake to suppose the Government is indifferent to this matter, or is not doing the best it can in regard to it. We do not to-day *know* that a colored soldier or white officer commanding colored soldiers, has been massacred by the rebels when made a prisoner. We fear it, believe it, I may say, but we do not *know* it. To take the life of one of their prisoners on the assumption that they murder ours, when it is short of certainty that they do murder ours, might be too serious, too cruel, a mistake. We are having the Fort Pillow affair thoroughly investigated; and such investigation will probably show conclusively how the truth is. If after all that has been said it shall turn out that there has been no massacre at Fort Pillow, it will be almost safe to say there has been none, and will be none, elsewhere. If there has been the massacre of three hundred there, or even the tenth part of three hundred, it will be conclusively proved; and being so proved, the retribution shall as surely come. It will be matter of grave consideration in what exact course to apply the retribution; but in the supposed case it must come.

21st. (To Major-General Dix, New York.) Yesterday I was induced to telegraph the officer in military command at Fort Warren, Boston Harbor, Massachusetts, suspending the execution of Charles Carpenter, to be executed to-morrow for desertion. Just now on reading your order in the case, I telegraphed the same officer withdrawing the suspension, and leaving the case entirely with you. The man's friends are pressing me, but I refer them to you, intending to take no further action myself.

28th. (To Mrs. Lincoln.) Tell Tad the goats and father are very well, especially the goats.

30th. (To General U. S. Grant.) Not expecting to see you again before the spring campaign opens, I wish to express in this way my entire satisfaction with what you have done up to this time, so far as I understand it.

The particulars of your plans I neither know nor seek to know. You are vigilant and self-reliant; and, pleased with this, I wish not to obtrude any constraints or restraints upon you. While I am very anxious that any great disaster or capture of our men in great numbers shall be avoided, I know these points are less likely to escape your attention than they would be mine. If there is anything wanting which is within my power to give, do not fail to let me know it.

And now, with a brave army and a just cause, may God sustain you.

May 4th. (To General W. T. Sherman.) I have an imploring appeal in behalf of the citizens (of Chattanooga) who say your Order No. 8 will compel them to go north of Nashville. This is in no sense an order, nor is it even a request that you will do anything which in the least shall be a drawback upon your military operations, but anything you can do for those suffering people, I shall be glad of.

9th. Enough is known of army operations within the last five days to claim an especial gratitude to God, while what remains undone demands our most sincere prayers to, and reliance upon, Him without whom all human effort is vain. I recommend that all patriots, at their homes, in their places of public worship, and wherever they may be, unite in common thanksgiving and prayer to Almighty God.

(Response to a Serenade.) I am very much obliged to you for the compliment of this call, though I apprehend it is owing more to the good news received to-day from the army, than a desire to meet me. I am indeed very grateful to the brave men who have been struggling with the enemy in the field, to their noble commanders who have directed them, and especially to our Maker. Our commanders are following up their victories resolutely and successfully. I think, without knowing the particulars of the plans of General Grant, that what has been accomplished is of more importance than at first appears. I

believe, I know (and am especially grateful to know) that General Grant has not been jostled in his purposes, that he has made all his points, and to-day he is on his line as he purposed before he moved his armies.

There is enough yet before us requiring all loyal men and patriots to perform their share of the labor and follow the example of the modest general at the head of our armies, and sink all personal consideration for the sake of the country. I commend you to keep yourselves in the same tranquil mood that is characteristic of this brave and loyal man.

12th. (To S. C. Pomeroy.) I did not doubt yesterday that you desired to see me about the appointment of assessor in Kansas. I wish you and Lane would make a sincere effort to get out of the mood you are in. It does neither of you any good. It gives you the means of tormenting my life out of me, and nothing else.

14th. (To a Methodist Delegation.) In response to your address, allow me to attest the accuracy of its historical statements, indorse the sentiments it expresses, and thank you in the nation's name for the sure promise it gives. Nobly sustained as the Government has been by all the churches, I would utter nothing which might in the least appear invidious against any. Yet without this, it may fairly be said, that the Methodist Episcopal Church, not less devoted than the best, is by its greater numbers the most important of all. It is no fault in others that the Methodist Church sends more soldiers to the field, more nurses to the hospital, and more prayers to Heaven than any. God bless the Methodist Church. Bless all the churches. Blessed be God, who, in this our great trial, giveth us the churches.

(To a Baptist Delegation.) In the present very responsible position in which I am engaged, I have had great cause of gratitude for the support so unanimously given by all Christian denominations of the country. I have had occasion so

frequently to respond to something like this assemblage, that I have said all I had to say. This particular body is, in all respects, as respectable as any that have been presented to me. The resolutions I have merely half read, and I therefore beg to be allowed an opportunity to make a short response in writing.

18th. (To General J. A. Dix.) Whereas there has been wickedly and traitorously printed and published this morning in the *New York World* and *New York Journal of Commerce,* newspapers printed and published in the city of New York, a false and spurious proclamation, purporting to be signed by the President and to be countersigned by the Secretary of State, which publication is of a treasonable nature, designed to give aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States and to the rebels now at war against the government, and their aiders and abettors, you are therefore hereby commanded forthwith to arrest and imprison, in any fort or military prison in your command, the editors, proprietors, and publishers of the aforesaid newspapers, and all such persons as, after public notice has been given of the falsehood of said publication, print and publish the same with intent to give aid and comfort to the enemy, and you will hold the persons so arrested in close custody until they can be brought to trial before a military commission for their offense. You will also take possession by military force, of the printing establishments of the *New York World* and *Journal of Commerce,* and hold the same until further orders, and prevent further publication therefrom.

June 3rd. (To F. A. Conkling and others.) Your letter, inviting me to be present at a mass-meeting of loyal citizens, to be held at New York, on the 4th instant, for the purpose of expressing gratitude to Lieutenant-General Grant for his signal services, was received yesterday. It is impossible for me to attend. I approve, nevertheless, whatever may tend to strengthen and sustain General Grant and the noble armies

now under his direction. My previous high estimate of General Grant has been maintained and heightened by what has occurred in the remarkable campaign he is now conducting, while the magnitude and difficulty of the task before him do not prove less than I expected. He and his brave soldiers are now in the midst of their great trial, and I trust that at your meeting you will so shape your good words that they may turn to men and guns, moving to his and their support.

5th. Mr. Holt is a good man, but I had not heard or thought of him for Vice-President. Wish not to interfere about Vice-President. Can not interfere about platform. Convention must judge for itself.

9th. (To the Committee Notifying President Lincoln of Renomination.) I will neither conceal my gratification, nor restrain the expression of my gratitude, that the Union people, through their convention, in their continued effort to save and advance the nation, have deemed me not unworthy to remain in my present position. I know no reason to doubt that I shall accept the nomination tendered; and yet, perhaps, I should not declare definitely before reading and considering what is called the platform. I will say, however, I approve the declaration in favor of so amending the Constitution as to prohibit slavery throughout the nation.

(To an Ohio Delegation.) I am very much obliged to you for this compliment. I have just been saying, and will repeat it, that the hardest of all speeches I have to answer is a serenade. I never know what to say on these occasions. I suppose that you have done me this kindness in connection with the action of the Baltimore convention, which has recently taken place, and with which, of course, I am very well satisfied. What we want, still more than Baltimore conventions or presidential elections, is success under General Grant. I propose that you constantly bear in mind that the support you owe to the brave officers and soldiers in the field is of the very first importance, and we should therefore bend all our energies to that point.

(To a Delegation from the National Union League.) I can only say in response to the kind remarks of your chairman, as I suppose, that I am very grateful for the renewed confidence which has been accorded to me both by the convention and by the National League. I am not insensible at all to the personal compliment there is in this, and yet I do not allow myself to believe that any but a small portion of it is to be appropriated as a personal compliment to me. That really the convention and the Union League assembled with a higher view—that of taking care of the interests of the country for the present and the great future—and that the part I am entitled to appropriate as a compliment is only that part which I may lay hold of as being the opinion of the convention and of the League, that I am not entirely unworthy to be intrusted with the place which I have occupied for the last three years. But I do not allow myself to suppose that either the convention or the League have concluded to decide that I am either the greatest or best man in America, but rather they have concluded that it is not best to swap horses while crossing the river, and have further concluded that I am not so poor a horse that they might not make a botch of it in trying to swap.

13th. (To General L. Thomas.) Complaint is made to me that in the vicinity of Henderson our militia are seizing negroes and carrying them off without their own consent, and according to no rules whatever except those of absolute violence. I wish you would look into this and inform me, and see that the making soldiers of negroes is done according to the rules you are acting upon, so that unnecessary provocation and irritation be avoided.

16th. (At a Sunday fair in Philadelphia.) We accepted this war, and did not begin it. We accepted it for an object, and when that object is accomplished the war will end, and I hope to God it will never end until that object is accomplished. We are going through with our task, so far as I am concerned, if it takes us three years longer.

19th. (To Mrs. Lincoln.) Tad arrived safely and all well.

20th. What I said to Postmaster of Philadelphia on this day—June 20, 1864:

Complaint is made to me that you are using your official power to defeat Judge Kelley's renomination to Congress.

I am well satisfied with Judge Kelley as a member of Congress, and I do not know that the man who might supplant him would be as satisfactory; but the correct principle, I think, is that all our friends should have absolute freedom of choice among our friends. My wish, therefore, is that you will do just as you think fit with your own suffrage in the case, and not constrain any of your subordinates to do other than he thinks fit with his.

This is precisely the rule I inculcated and adhered to on my part when a certain other nomination now recently made was being canvassed for.

24th. (To Mrs. Lincoln.) All well and very warm. Tad and I have been to General Grant's army. Returned yesterday safe and sound.

27th. (To William Cullen Bryant.) Yours of the twenty-fifth has just been handed me by the Secretary of the Navy. The tone of the letter, rather than any direct statement in it, impresses me as a complaint that Mr. Henderson should have been removed from office, and arrested, coupled with the single suggestion that he be restored if he shall establish his innocence.

I know absolutely nothing of the case except as follows: Monday last, Mr. Welles came to me with the letter of dismissal already written, saying he thought proper to show it to me before sending it. I asked him the charges, which he stated in a general way. With as much emphasis as I could, I said: "Are you entirely certain of his guilt?" He answered that he was, to which I replied: "Then send the letter."

Whether Mr. Henderson was a supporter of my second

nomination, I neither knew nor inquired, nor even thought of. I shall be very glad indeed if he shall, as you anticipate, establish his innocence; or, to state it more strongly and properly, "if the government shall fail to establish his guilt." I believe, however, the man who made the affidavit was of as spotless reputation as Mr. Henderson, until he was arrested on what his friends insist was outrageously insufficient evidence. I know the entire city government of Washington, with many other respectable citizens, appealed to me in his behalf as a greatly injured gentleman.

While the subject is up, may I ask whether the *Evening Post* has not assailed me for supposed too lenient dealing with persons charged with fraud and crime? And that in cases of which the *Post* could know but little of the facts? I shall certainly deal as leniently with Mr. Henderson as I have felt it my duty to deal with others, notwithstanding any newspaper assaults.

(To William Dennison and others.) Your letter of the 14th instant, formally notifying me that I have been nominated by the convention you represent for the Presidency of the United States for four years from the 4th of March next, has been received. The nomination is gratefully accepted, as the resolutions of the convention, called the platform, are heartily approved.

While the resolution in regard to the supplanting of republican government upon the Western Continent is fully concurred in, there might be misunderstanding were I not to say that the position of the Government in relation to the action of France in Mexico, as assumed through the State Department and approved and indorsed by the convention among the measures and acts of the Executive, will be faithfully maintained as long as the state of facts shall leave that position pertinent and applicable.

28th. (To Secretary Chase.) Yours, inclosing a blank

nomination for Maunsell B. Field to be Assistant Treasurer at New York, was received yesterday. I can not, without much embarrassment, make this appointment, principally because of Senator Morgan's very firm opposition to it.

I do not think Mr. Field a very proper man for the place; but I would trust your judgment and forego this were the greater difficulty out of the way. Much as I personally like Mr. Barney, it has been a great burden to me to retain him in his place, when nearly all our friends in New York were, directly or indirectly, urging his removal. Then the appointment of Hogeboom to be General Appraiser, brought me to, and has ever since kept me at the verge of open revolt. Now, the appointment of Mr. Field would precipitate me in it, unless Senator Morgan, and those feeling as he does, could be brought to concur in it. Strained as I already am at this point, I do not think I can make this appointment in the direction of still greater strain.

29th. (To General F. Steele.) I understand that Congress declines to admit to seats the persons sent as senators and representatives from Arkansas. These persons apprehend that, in consequence, you may not support the new State government there as you otherwise would. My wish is that you give that government and the people there the same support and protection that you would if the members had been admitted, because in no event, nor in any view of the case, can this do any harm, while it will be the best you can do toward suppressing the rebellion.

30th. (To Secretary Chase.) Your resignation of the office of Secretary of the Treasury sent me yesterday is accepted. Of all I have said in commendation of your ability and fidelity, I have nothing to unsay; and yet you and I have reached a point of mutual embarrassment in our official relations which, it seems, can not be overcome or longer sustained consistently with the public service.

July 4th. (To Senator Chandler who demands his signature to a punitive Reconstruction Bill.)

This bill has been placed before me a few minutes before Congress adjourns. It is a matter of too much importance to be swallowed in that way.

(Chandler: If it is vetoed it will damage us fearfully in the Northwest. The important point is the one prohibiting slavery in the Reconstructed States.)

That is the point on which I doubt the authority of Congress to act.

(Chandler: It is no more than you have done yourself.)

I conceive that I may in an emergency do things on military grounds which can not constitutionally be done by Congress.

(Chandler angrily leaves the room.)

I do not see how any of us now can deny and contradict what we have always said, that Congress has no constitutional power over slavery in the States.

If they (Chandler and other radicals) choose to make a point on this, I do not doubt that they can do harm. They have never been friendly to me. At all events, I must keep some consciousness of being somewhere near right. I must keep some standard of principle fixed within myself.

5th. (To Lamon.) I fear I have made Senator Wade of Ohio my enemy for life. Wade was here just now urging me to dismiss Grant, and, in response to something he said, I remarked, "Senator, that reminds me of a story."

(What did Wade say?)

He said, in a petulant way,"It is with you, sir, all story, story! You are the father of every military blunder that has been made during the war. This government is on the road to hell, sir, by reason of your obstinacy, and you are not a mile from there this minute."

(What did you say then?)

I good-naturedly said to him, "Senator, that is just about

the distance from here to the capitol, is it not?" He was very angry, grabbed up his hat and cane, and went away.*

8th. (Proclamation.) Whereas, at the late session Congress passed a bill to "guarantee to certain States, whose governments have been usurped or overthrown, a republican form of government," a copy of which is hereunto annexed;

And whereas the said bill was presented to the President of the United States for his approval less than one hour before the *sine die* adjournment of said session, and was not signed by him;

And whereas the said bill contains, among other things, a plan for restoring the States in rebellion to their proper practical relation in the Union, which plan expresses the sense of Congress upon that subject, and which plan it is now thought fit to lay before the people for their consideration;

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do proclaim, declare, and make known, that while I am (as I was in December last when by proclamation I propounded a plan for restoration) unprepared, by a formal approval of this bill, to be inflexibly committed to any single plan of restoration; and, while I am also unprepared to declare that the free-State constitutions and governments already adopted and installed in Arkansas and Louisiana shall be set aside and held for naught, thereby repelling and discouraging the loyal citizens who have set up the same as to further effort, or to declare a constitutional competency in Congress to abolish slavery in States, but am at the same time sincerely hoping and expecting that a constitutional amendment abolishing slavery throughout the nation may be adopted, nevertheless I am fully satisfied with the system for restoration contained in the bill as one very proper plan for the loyal people of any State choosing to adopt it, and that I am, and at all times shall be, prepared to give the executive aid and assistance to

*Date conjectural.

any such people, so soon as the military resistance to the United States shall have been suppressed in any such State, and the people thereof shall have sufficiently returned to their obedience to the Constitution and the laws of the United States, in which case military governors will be appointed, with directions to proceed according to the bill.

9th. (To Horace Greeley.) If you can find any person anywhere professing to have any proposition of Jefferson Davis in writing, for peace, embracing the restoration of the Union and abandonment of slavery, whatever else it embraces, say to him he may come to me with you; and that if he really brings such proposition, he shall at the least have safe-conduct with the paper (and without publicity, if he chooses) to the point where you shall have met him. The same if there be two or more persons.

10th. (To Thomas Swann and others, Baltimore, Md.) I have not a single soldier but who is being disposed by the military for the best protection of all. By latest accounts the enemy is moving on Washington. They can not fly to either place. Let us be vigilant, but keep cool. I hope neither Baltimore nor Washington will be sacked.

(To General U. S. Grant.) Your despatch to General Halleck, referring to what I may think in the present emergency is shown me. General Halleck says we have absolutely no force here fit to go to the field. He thinks that with the one hundred day men and invalids we have here we can defend Washington, and scarcely Baltimore. Besides these there are about 8,000, not very reliable, under Howe, at Harper's Ferry, with Hunter approaching that point very slowly, with what number I suppose you know better than I. Wallace, with some odds and ends, and part of what came up with Ricketts, was so badly beaten yesterday at Monocacy, that what is left can attempt no more than to defend Baltimore. What we shall get in from Pennsylvania and New York will scarcely be worth counting,

I fear. Now, what I think is, that you should provide to retain your hold where you are, certainly, and bring the rest with you personally, and make a vigorous effort to destroy the enemy's forces in this vicinity. I think there is really a fair chance to do this, if the movement is prompt. This is what I think upon your suggestion, and is not an order.

Early having threatened Washington is kept from seizing the city by the prompt movements of General Wright.

11th. The enemy will learn of Wright's arrival, and then the difficulty will be to unite Wright and Hunter south of the enemy before he will recross the Potomac. Some firing between Rockville and here now.

12th. (To Grant.) Vague rumors have been reaching us for two or three days that Longstreet's corps is also on its way to this vicinity. Look out for its absence from your front.

14th. (To Secretary Stanton.) Your note of to-day inclosing General Halleck's letter of yesterday relative to offensive remarks supposed to have been made by the Postmaster-General concerning the military officers on duty about Washington is received. The general's letter in substance demands of me that if I approve the remarks I shall strike the names of those officers from the rolls; and that if I do not approve them the Postmaster-General shall be dismissed from the Cabinet.

Whether the remarks were really made I do not know, nor do I suppose such knowledge is necessary to a correct response. If they were made, I do not approve them; and yet, under the circumstances, I would not dismiss a member of the Cabinet therefor. I do not consider what may have been hastily said in a moment of vexation at so severe a loss is sufficient ground for so grave a step. Besides this, truth is generally the

best vindication against slander. I propose continuing to be myself the judge as to when a member of the Cabinet shall be dismissed.

(To the Cabinet.) I must myself be the judge how long to retain in and when to remove any of you from his position. It would greatly pain me to discover any of you endeavoring to procure another's removal, or in any way to prejudice him before the public. Such endeavor would be a wrong to me, and, much worse, a wrong to the country. My wish is that on this subject no remark be made nor question asked by any of you, here or elsewhere, now or hereafter.

Horace Greeley has attempted informal peace negotiations with Confederate agents in Canada.

15th. (To Greeley.) Yours of the 13th is just received, and I am disappointed that you have not already reached here with those commissioners, if they would consent to come on being shown my letter to you of the 9th instant. Show that and this to them, and if they will come on the terms stated in the former, bring them. I not only intend a sincere effort for peace, but I intend that you shall be a personal witness that it is made.

16th. The President of the United States directs that the four persons whose names follow—to wit: Honorable Clement C. Clay, Honorable Jacob Thompson, Professor James B. Holcombe, George N. Sanders, shall have safe conduct to the city of Washington in company with the Honorable Horace Greeley, and shall be exempt from arrest or annoyance of any kind from any officer of the United States during their journey to the said city of Washington.

18th. To whom it may concern: Any proposition which embraces the restoration of peace, the integrity of the whole Union, and the abandonment of slavery, and

which comes by and with an authority that can control the armies now at war against the United States, will be received and considered by the Executive Government of the United States, and will be met by liberal terms on other substantial and collateral points, and the bearer or bearers thereof shall have safe-conduct both ways.

25th. The men of the South recently (and perhaps still) at Niagara Falls tell us distinctly that they *are* in the confidential employment of the rebellion; and they tell us distinctly that they are *not* empowered to offer terms of peace. Does any one doubt that what they are empowered to do is to assist in selecting and arranging a candidate and a platform for the Chicago convention? Who could have given them this confidential employment but he who, only a week since, declared to Jaquess and Gilmore, that he had no terms of peace but the independence of the South—the dissolution of the Union? Thus, the present presidential contest will almost certainly be no other than a contest between a union and a disunion candidate, disunion certainly following the success of the latter. The issue is a mighty one, for all people, and all times; and whoever aids the right will be appreciated and remembered.

26th. (To General U. S. Grant.) The President desires you to name, if you can, a time when it would be convenient for you to meet him in person at Fortress Monroe after Thursday morning.

August 3rd. (To General U. S. Grant.) I have seen your despatch in which you say, "I want Sheridan put in command of all the troops in the field, with instructions to put himself south of the enemy, and follow him to the death. Wherever the enemy goes, let our troops go also." This, I think, is exactly right as to how our forces should move, but please look over the despatches you may have received from here, ever since you made that order, and discover, if you can, that there is any idea in the head of any one here of "putting our

army south of the enemy," or of "following him to the death," in any direction. I repeat to you, it will neither be done nor attempted, unless you watch it every day and hour and force it.

5th. Senator Wade and Henry Winter Davis publish a bitter attack on Lincoln's policy which has come to be known as the "Wade-Davis Manifesto." They stigmatize his rejection of the reconstruction policy of Congress as "a studied outrage on the legislative authority of the people." Wendell Phillips also denounces him.

I have not seen (these attacks upon me) nor do I care to see them. I have seen enough to satisfy me I am a failure, not only in the opinion of the people in the rebellion, but of many distinguished politicians in my own party. But time will show whether I am right or they are right, and I am content to abide its decision. I have enough to look after without giving much of my time to the consideration of who shall be my successor in office. The position is not an easy one; and the occupant, whoever he may be, for the next four years, will have little leisure to pluck a thorn or plant a rose in his own pathway.

Our friends, Wade, Davis, Phillips, and others are hard to please. I am not capable of doing so. I can not please them without wantonly violating not only my oath, but the most vital principles upon which our government was founded. As to those who, like Wade and the rest, see fit to depreciate my policy and cavil at my official acts, I shall not complain of them. I accord them the utmost freedom of speech and liberty of the press, but shall not change the policy I have adopted in the full belief that I am right. I feel on this subject as an Illinois farmer once expressed himself while eating cheese. He was interrupted in the midst of his repast by the entrance of his son, who exclaimed, "Hold on, dad! there's skippers in that cheese you are eating!"

"Never mind, Tom," said he, as he kept on munching his cheese, "if they can stand it I can."*

6th. (To Horace Greeley.) Yours to Major Hay about publication of our correspondence received. With the suppression of a few passages in your letters in regard to which I think you and I would not disagree, I should be glad of the publication. Please come over and see me.

8th. (To Horace Greeley.) I telegraphed you Saturday. Did you receive my despatch? Please answer.

(To General S. G. Burbridge.) Last December Mrs. Emily T. Helm, half-sister of Mrs. Lincoln, and widow of the rebel general, Ben. Hardin Helm, stopped here on her way from Georgia to Kentucky, and I gave her a paper, as I remember, to protect her against the mere fact of her being General Helm's widow. I hear a rumor to-day that you recently sought to arrest her, but were prevented by her presenting the paper from me. I do not intend to protect her against the consequences of disloyal words or acts, spoken or done by her since her return to Kentucky, and if the paper given her by me can be construed to give her protection for such words or acts, it is hereby revoked *pro tanto*. Deal with her for current conduct just as you would with any other.

9th. (To Horace Greeley.) Herewith is a full copy of the correspondence, and which I have had privately printed, but not made public. The parts of your letters which I wish suppressed are only those which, as I think, give too gloomy an aspect to our cause, and those which present the carrying of elections as a motive of action. I have, as you see, drawn a red pencil over the parts I wish suppressed.

As to the Alexander H. Stephens matter, so much pressed by you, I can only say that he sought to come to Washington in the name of the "Confederate States," in a vessel of "the Confederate States navy," and with no pretense even that he

*Date approximate.

would bear any proposal for peace; but with language showing that his mission would be military, and not civil or diplomatic. Nor has he at any time since pretended that he had terms of peace, so far as I know or believe. On the contrary, Jefferson Davis has, in the most formal manner, declared that Stephens had no terms of peace. I thought we could not afford to give this quasi-acknowledgment of the independence of the Confederacy, in a case where there was not even an intimation of anything for our good. Still, as the parts of your letters relating to Stephens contain nothing worse than a questioning of my action, I do not ask a suppression of those parts.

(To General N. P. Banks.) I have just seen the new constitution adopted by the Convention at Louisiana; and I am anxious that it shall be ratified by the people. I will thank you to let the civil officers in Louisiana, holding under me, know that this is my wish, and let me know at once who of them openly declare for the constitution, and who of them, if any, decline to so declare.

14th. (To General U. S. Grant.) The Secretary of War and I concur that you had better confer with General Lee, and stipulate for a mutual discontinuance of house-burning and other destruction of private property. The time and manner of conference and particulars of stipulation we leave, on our part, to your convenience and judgment.

15th. (Mr. President, said Governor Randall, why can't you seek seclusion, and play hermit for a fortnight? It would reinvigorate you.)

Ah, two or three weeks would do me no good. I can not fly from my thoughts—my solicitude for this great country follows me wherever I go. I do not think it is personal vanity or ambition, though I am not free from these infirmities, but I can not but feel that the weal or woe of this great nation will be decided in November. There is no program offered by any wing of the Democratic party but that must result in the permanent destruction of the Union.

(To Henry J. Raymond.) I have proposed to Mr. Greeley that the Niagara correspondence be published, suppressing only the parts of his letters over which the red pencil is drawn in the copy which I herewith send. He declines giving his consent to the publication of his letters unless these parts be published with the rest. I have concluded that it is better for me to submit, for the time, to the consequences of the false position in which I consider he has placed me, than to subject the country to the consequences of publishing their discouraging and injurious parts. I send you this and the accompanying copy, not for publication, but merely to explain to you, and that you may preserve them until their proper time shall come.

17th. (To General U. S. Grant.) I have seen your despatch expressing your unwillingness to break your hold where you are. Neither am I willing. Hold on with a bull-dog grip, and chew and choke as much as possible.

(Unfinished memorandum.) To me it seems plain that saying reunion and abandonment of slavery would be considered, if offered, is not saying that nothing *else or less* would be considered, if offered.

The way these [emancipation] measures were to help the cause was not to be by magic or miracles, but by inducing the colored people to come bodily over from the rebel side to ours.

Drive back to the support of the rebellion the physical force which the colored people now give and promise us, and neither the present, nor any coming administration can save the Union. Take from us and give to the enemy the hundred and thirty, forty, or fifty thousand colored persons now serving us as soldiers, seamen, and laborers, and we can not longer maintain the contest.

It is not a question of sentiment or taste, but one of physical force, which may be measured and estimated, as horse-power and steam-power are measured and estimated. And by meas-

urement it is more than we can lose and live. Nor can we by discarding it get a white force in place of it. There is a witness in every white man's bosom that he would rather go to the war having the negro to help him than to help the enemy against him. It is not the giving of one class for another—it is simply giving a large force to the enemy for nothing in return.

If Jefferson Davis wishes for himself, or for the benefit of his friends at the North, to know what I would do if he were to offer peace and reunion, saying nothing about slavery, let him try me.

18th. (To the 164th Ohio Regiment.) You are about to return to your homes and your friends, after having, as I learn, performed in camp a comparatively short term of duty in this great contest. I am greatly obliged to you, and to all who have come forward at the call of their country.

I wish it might be more generally and universally understood what the country is now engaged in. We have, as all will agree, a free Government, where every man has a right to be equal with every other man. In this great struggle, this form of Government and every form of human right is endangered if our enemies succeed. There is more involved in this contest than is realized by every one. There is involved in this struggle the question whether your children and my children shall enjoy the privileges we have enjoyed. I say this in order to impress upon you, if you are not already so impressed, that no small matter should divert us from our great purpose.

20th. (To General B. F. Butler.) Please allow Judge Snead to go to his family on Eastern Shore or give me some good reason why not.

22nd. (To the 166th Ohio Regiment.) I most always feel inclined, when I happen to say anything to soldiers, to impress upon them, in a few brief remarks, the importance of success in this contest. It is not merely for the day, but for all time to come, that we should perpetuate for our children's

children that great and free government which we have enjoyed all our lives. I beg you to remember this, not merely for my sake, but for yours. I happen, temporarily, to occupy this White House. I am a living witness that any one of your children may look to come here as my father's child has. It is in order that each one of you may have, through this free government which we have enjoyed, an open field and a fair chance for your industry, enterprise, and intelligence; that you may all have equal privileges in the race of life, with all its desirable human aspirations—it is for this the struggle should be maintained, that we may not lose our birthright—not only for one, but for two or three years, if necessary. The nation is worth fighting for, to secure such an inestimable jewel.

23rd. This morning, as for some days past, it seems exceedingly probable that this administration will not be re-elected. Then it will be my duty to so cooperate with the President-elect as to save the Union between the election and the inauguration, as he will have secured his election on such ground that he can not possibly save it afterward.*

24th. (To Henry J. Raymond.) *(Not sent or used.)* You will proceed forthwith and obtain, if possible, a conference for peace with Honorable Jefferson Davis, or any person by him authorized for that purpose. You will address him in entirely respectful terms, at all events, and in any that may be indispensable to secure the conference. At said conference you will propose, on behalf of this government, that upon the restoration of the Union and the national authority the war shall cease at once, all remaining questions to be left for adjustment by peaceful modes. If this be accepted, hostilities to cease at once. If it be not accepted, you will then request to be informed what terms, if any, embracing the restoration of the Union would be accepted. If any such be presented you in answer, you will forthwith report the same to this govern-

*See p. 436.

ment, and await further instructions. If the presentation of any terms embracing the restoration of the Union be declined, you will then request to be informed what terms of peace would be accepted; and, on receiving any answer, report the same to this government, and await further instructions.

September 1st. It is represented to me that there are at Rock Island, Ill., as rebel prisoners of war, many persons of Northern and foreign birth who are unwilling to be exchanged and sent South, but who wish to take the oath of allegiance and enter the military service of the Union.

Colonel Huidekoper, on behalf of the people of some parts of Pennsylvania, wishes to pay the bounties the government would have to pay to proper persons of this class, have them enter the service of the United States, and be credited to the localities furnishing the bounty money. He will therefore proceed to Rock Island, ascertain the names of such persons (not including any who have attractions Southward), and telegraph them to the Provost-Marshal General here, whereupon direction will be given to discharge the persons named upon their taking the oath of allegiance; and then upon the official evidence being furnished that they shall have been duly received and mustered into the service of the United States, their number will be credited as may be directed by Colonel Huidekoper.

(To Stanton who protests vehemently against an order of Lincoln for enlistment of prisoners of war who wish to enter the Union Army.)

Mr. Secretary, I reckon you'll have to execute the order.

(Stanton: Mr. President, I can not do it.)

Mr. Secretary, it will have to be done.

(The order is executed.)*

3rd. (Proclamation.) The signal success that divine Providence has recently vouchsafed to the operations of the

*Date conjectural.

United States fleet and army in the harbor of Mobile, and the reduction of Fort Powell, Fort Gaines, and Fort Morgan, and the glorious achievements of the army under Major-General Sherman, in the State of Georgia, resulting in the capture of the city of Atlanta, call for devout acknowledgment to the Supreme Being, in whose hands are the destinies of nations. It is, therefore, requested that on next Sunday, in all places of worship in the United States, thanksgiving be offered to Him for His mercy in preserving our national existence against the insurgent rebels who have been waging a cruel war against the Government of the United States for its overthrow; and also that prayer be made for Divine protection to our brave soldiers and their leaders in the field, who have so often and so gallantly periled their lives in battling with the enemy; and for blessings and comfort from the Father of Mercies to the sick, wounded, and prisoners, and to the orphans and widows of those who have fallen in the service of their country, and that He will continue to uphold the Government of the United States against all the efforts of public enemies and secret foes.

4th. (To Mrs. Eliza P. Gurney.) I have not forgotten, probably never shall forget, the very impressive occasion when yourself and friends visited me on a Sabbath forenoon, two years ago; nor has your kind letter, written nearly a year later, ever been forgotten. In all it has been your purpose to strengthen my reliance in God. I am much indebted to the good Christian people of the country for their constant prayers and consolation, and to no one of them more than to yourself. The purposes of the Almighty are perfect, and must prevail, though we erring mortals may fail to accurately perceive them in advance. We hoped for a happy termination of this terrible war long before this, but God knows best, and has ruled otherwise. We shall yet acknowledge His wisdom, and our own error therein. Meanwhile we must work earnestly in the best lights He gives us, trusting that so working still con-

duces to the great ends He ordains. Surely He intends some great good to follow this mighty convulsion, which no mortal could make, and no mortal could stay.

Your people—the Friends—have had, and are having, very great trials. On principle and faith opposed to both war and oppression, they can only practically oppose oppression by war. In this hard dilemma some have chosen one horn and some the other. For those appealing to me on conscientious grounds, I have done, and shall do, the best I could and can, in my own conscience, under my oath to the law. That you believe this, I doubt not, and, believing it, I shall still receive for our country and myself your earnest prayers to our Father in Heaven.

8th. (To Mrs. Lincoln.) All well, including Tad's pony and the goats. Mrs. Colonel Dimmick died night before last. Bob left Sunday afternoon. Said he did not know whether he should see you.

12th. (To General U. S. Grant.) Sheridan and Early are facing each other at a dead-lock. Could we not pick up a regiment here and there, to the number of, say ten thousand men, and quietly but suddenly concentrate them at Sheridan's camp and enable him to make a strike? This is but a suggestion.

19th. (To General W. T. Sherman.) The State election of Indiana occurs on the 11th of October, and the loss of it, to the friends of the Government, would go far toward losing the whole Union cause. The bad effect upon the November election, and especially the giving the State government to those who will oppose the war in every possible way, are too much to risk, if it can possibly be avoided. The draft proceeds, notwithstanding its strong tendency to lose us the State. Indiana is the only important State, voting in October, whose soldiers can not vote in the field. Anything you can safely do to let her soldiers, or any part of them, go home and vote at the State election will be greatly in point. They need not remain for the Presidential election, but may return to you at once.

This is in no sense an order, but is merely intended to impress you with the importance, to the army itself, of your doing all you safely can, yourself being the judge of what you can safely do.

(To J. S. Ten Eyck.) Doctor J. R. Freese, now editor of a leading Union journal in New Jersey, resided for a time in Illinois, where and when I made his acquaintance, and since when I have enjoyed much of his friendship. He is somewhat wounded with me now, that I do not recognize him as he thinks I ought. I wish to appoint him a provost-marshal in your State. May I have your approval?

20th. (To Sheridan.) Have just heard of your great victory. God bless you all, officers and men. Strongly inclined to come up and see you.

21st. (To General E. R. S. Canby.) General Baily of Rapides Parish, Louisiana, is vouched to me as entirely trustworthy, and appeals to me in behalf of the people of his region, who he says are mostly Union people, and are in great destitution—almost absolute starvation. He says their condition is greatly aggravated by General Banks' expedition up Red River, last spring, in reliance upon which they mostly took the oath of allegiance.

Of course what General Baily asks is permission to carry provisions to them.

This I will not give without your consent, but I will thank you to hear and consider their case, and do for them the best you can, consistently with the interests of the public service.

22nd. (To General U. S. Grant.) I send this as an explanation to you, and to do justice to the Secretary of War. I was induced, upon pressing application, to authorize the agents of one of the districts of Pennsylvania to recruit in one of the prison depots in Illinois, and the thing went so far before it came to the knowledge of the Secretary that, in my judgment, it could not be abandoned without greater evil than

would follow its going through. I did not know at the time that you had protested against that class of thing being done; and I now say that while this particular job must be completed, no other of the sort will be authorized without an understanding with you, if at all. The Secretary of War is wholly free of any part in this blunder.

23rd. (To Postmaster-General Blair.) You have generously said to me, more than once, that whenever your resignation could be a relief to me, it was at my disposal. The time has come. You very well know that this proceeds from no dissatisfaction of mine with you personally or officially. Your uniform kindness has been unsurpassed by that of any friend, and while it is true that the war does not so greatly add to the difficulties of your department as to those of some others, it is yet much to say, as I most truly can, that in the three years and a half during which you have administered the general postoffice, I remember no single complaint against you in connection therewith.

24th. Congress having authorized the purchase for the United States of the products of States declared in insurrection, and the Secretary of the Treasury having designated New Orleans, Memphis, Nashville, Pensacola, Port Royal, Beaufort, (North Carolina), and Norfolk, as places of purchase, and with my approval appointed agents and made regulations under which said products may be purchased, therefore:

All persons except such as may be in the civil, military, or naval service of the government, having in their possession any products of States or part of States declared in insurrection, which said agents are authorized to purchase, and all persons owning or controlling such products therein are authorized to convey such products to either of the places which have been hereby or may hereafter be designated as places of purchase, and such products so destined shall not be liable to detention, seizure, or forfeiture while *in transitu,* or in store waiting transportation.

(To William Dennison.) Mr. Blair has resigned and I appoint you Postmaster-General. Come on immediately.

29th. (To General U. S. Grant.) I hope it will have no constraint on you, nor do harm any way, for me to say I am a little afraid lest Lee sends reinforcements to Early, and thus enables him to turn upon Sheridan.

October 19th. (Response to a Serenade.)[1] Something said by the Secretary of State in his recent speech at Auburn, has been construed by some into a threat that if I shall be beaten at the election I will, between then and the end of my constitutional term, do what I may be able to ruin the government.

Others regard the fact that the Chicago Convention adjourned, not *sine die,* but to meet again, if called to do so by a particular individual, as the intimation of a purpose that if their nominee shall be elected he will at once seize control of the Government. I hope the good people will permit themselves to suffer no uneasiness on either point. I am struggling to maintain the Government, not to overthrow it. I am struggling especially to prevent others from overthrowing it. I therefore say that if I shall live, I shall remain President until the 4th of next March, and that whoever shall be constitutionally elected in November shall be duly installed as President on the 4th of March, and that in the interval I shall do my utmost that whoever is to hold the helm for the next voyage shall start with the best possible chance of saving the ship.

20th. It has pleased Almighty God to prolong our national life another year, defending us with His guardian care against unfriendly designs from abroad, and vouchsafing to us in His mercy many and signal victories over the enemy, who is of our own household. It has also pleased our Heavenly Father to favor as well our citizens in their homes as our soldiers in their camps, and our sailors on the rivers and seas, with unusual health. He has largely augmented our free population by

emancipation and by immigration, while He has opened to us new sources of wealth, and has crowned the labor of our workingmen in every department of industry with abundant rewards. Moreover, He has been pleased to animate and inspire our minds and hearts with fortitude, courage, and resolution sufficient for the great trial of civil war into which we have been brought by our adherence as a nation to the cause of freedom and humanity, and to afford to us reasonable hopes of an intimate and happy deliverance from all our dangers and afflictions.

Second election as President.

November 8th. It is a little singular that I, who am not a vindictive man, should always have been before the people for elections marked for their bitterness—always but once. When I came to Congress it was a quiet time. But always besides that the contests in which I have been present have been marked by great rancor.

9th. (Response to a Serenade.) I earnestly believe that the consequences of this day's work, if it be as you assure me, and as now seems probable, will be to the lasting advantage, if not to the very salvation, of the country. I can not at this hour say what has been the result of the election; but whatever it may be, I have no desire to modify this opinion, that all who have labored to-day in behalf of the Union have wrought for the best interests of the country and the world, not only for the present, but for all future ages. I am thankful to God for this approval of the people. But, while deeply grateful for this mark of their confidence in me, if I know my heart, my gratitude is free from any taint of personal triumph. I do not impugn the motives of any one opposed to me. It is no pleasure to me to triumph over any one, but I give thanks to the Almighty for this evidence of the people's resolution to stand by free government and the rights of humanity.

10th. (Speaking of the reply to Serenade.) Not very graceful, but I am growing old enough not to care much for the manner of doing things.

It has long been a grave question whether any government, not too strong for the liberties of its people, can be strong enough to maintain its existence in great emergencies. On this point the present rebellion brought our Government to a severe test, and a Presidential election occurring in regular course during the rebellion, added not a little to the strain.

If the loyal people united were put to the utmost of their strength by the rebellion, must they not fail when divided and partially paralyzed by a political war among themselves? But the election was a necessity. We can not have free government without elections; and if the rebellion could force us to forego or postpone a national election, it might fairly claim to have already conquered and ruined us. The strife of the election is but human nature practically applied to the facts of the case. What has occurred in this case must ever recur in similar cases. Human nature will not change. In any future great national trial, compared with the men of this, we shall have as weak and as strong, as silly and as wise, as bad and as good. Let us, therefore, study the incidents of this as philosophy to learn wisdom from, and none of them as wrongs to be revenged.

But the election, along with its incidental and undesirable strife, has done good, too. It has demonstrated that a people's government can sustain a national election in the midst of a great civil war. Until now it has not been known to the world that this was a possibility.

But the rebellion continues, and now that the election is over, may not all having a common interest reunite in a common effort to save our common country? For my own part, I have striven and shall strive to avoid placing any obstacle in the way. So long as I have been here I have not willingly

planted a thorn in any man's bosom. While I am deeply sensible to the high compliment of a reelection, and duly grateful, as I trust, to Almighty God for having directed my countrymen to a right conclusion, as I think, for their good, it adds nothing to my satisfaction that any other man may be disappointed by the result.

11th. (At a Cabinet Meeting.) Gentlemen, do you remember last summer I asked you to sign your names on the back of a paper of which I did not show you the inside? This is it. Now, Mr. Hay, see if you can get this open without tearing it.

(Hay opens it and produces the memorandum of August 22nd.*)

You will remember that this was written at a time, six days before the Chicago nominating convention, when as yet we had no adversary, and seemed to have no friends. I then solemnly resolved on the course of action indicated above. I resolved in case of the election of General McClellan, being certain that he would be the candidate, that I would see him and talk matters over with him. I would say, "General, the election has demonstrated that you are stronger, have more influence with the American people than I. Now let us get together, you with your influence, and I with all the executive power of the government, and try to save the country. You raise as many troops as you possibly can for this final trial, and I will devote all my energy to assisting and pushing the war."

(Stanton: And the general would answer you, "Yes, yes," and the next day when you saw him again and pressed these views upon him he would say "Yes, yes," and so on forever; and would have done nothing at all.)

At least, I should have done my duty, and have stood clear before my own conscience.

14th. Few things since I have been here have impressed

*See p. 427.

me more painfully than what, for four or five months past, has appeared a bitter military opposition to the new State government of Louisiana. Of course, in the condition of things in New Orleans, the military must not be thwarted by the civil authority; but when the Constitutional Convention, for what it deems a breech of privilege arrests an editor, in no way connected with the military, the military necessity for insulting the Convention and forcibly discharging the editor, is difficult to perceive. Neither is the military necessity for protecting the people against paying large salaries, fixed by a legislature of their own choosing, very apparent. Equally difficult to perceive is the military necessity for forcibly interposing to prevent a bank from loaning its own money to the State. These things, if they have occurred, are, at the best, no better than gratuitous hostility. I wish I could hope that they may be shown to not have occurred. To make assurance against misunderstanding, I repeat that in the existing condition of things in Louisiana, the military must not be thwarted by the civil authority; and I add that on points of difference the commanding general must be judge and master. But I also add that in the exercise of this judgment and control, a purpose, obvious, and scarcely unavowed, to transcend all military necessity, in order to crush out the civil government, will not be overlooked.

21st. (To Mrs. Bixby.) I have been shown in the files of the War Department a statement of the Adjutant-General of Massachusetts that you are the mother of five sons who have died gloriously on the field of battle. I feel how weak and fruitless must be any words of mine which should attempt to beguile you from the grief of a loss so overwhelming. But I can not refrain from tendering to you the consolation that may be found in the thanks of the Republic they died to save. I pray that our Heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement, and leave you only the cherished memory of

the loved and lost, and the solemn pride that must be yours to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of freedom.*

(To John Philips.) I have heard of the incident at the polls in your town, in which you acted so honorable a part, and I take the liberty of writing to you to express my personal gratitude for the compliment paid me by the suffrage of a citizen so venerable.

The example of such devotion to civic duties in one whose days have already been extended an average lifetime beyond the Psalmist's limit, can not but be valuable and fruitful. It is not for myself only, but for the country which you have in your sphere served so long and so well, that I thank you.

December 3rd. (On Thursday of last week, two ladies from Tennessee came before the President asking the release of their husbands held as prisoners of war at Johnson's Island. They were put off until Friday when they came again; and were again put off until Saturday. At each of the interviews one of the ladies urged that her husband was a religious man. On Saturday the President ordered the release of the prisoners, when he said to this lady,) You say your husband is a religious man; tell him when you meet him, that I say I am not much of a judge of religion; but that, in my opinion, the religion that sets men to rebel and fight against their government, because, as they think, that government does not sufficiently help *some* men to eat their bread in the sweat of *other* men's faces, is not the sort of religion upon which people can get to heaven.

6th. The public purpose to reestablish and maintain the national authority is unchanged, and, as we believe, unchangeable. The manner of continuing the effort remains to choose. On careful consideration of all the evidence accessible, it seems

*With regard to this letter there is a curious confusion. The files of the War Department do not corroborate its facts. Its authenticity has been challenged. It was included in the collection of Nicholay and Hay, who ardently believed it genuine.

to me that no attempt at negotiation with the insurgent leader could result in any good. He would accept nothing short of severance of the Union—precisely what we will not and can not give. His declarations to this effect are explicit and oft repeated. He does not attempt to deceive us. He affords us no excuse to deceive ourselves. He can not voluntarily reaccept the Union; we can not voluntarily yield it. Between him and us the issue is distinct, simple, and inflexible. It is an issue which can only be tried by war, and decided by victory. If we yield we are beaten; if the Southern people fail him, he is beaten. Either way it would be a victory and defeat following war. What is true, however, of him who heads the insurgent cause, is not necessarily true of those who follow. Although he can not reaccept the Union, they can. Some of them, we know, already desire peace and reunion. The number of such may increase. They can at any moment have peace simply by laying down their arms and submitting to the national authority under the Constitution. After so much the government could not, if it would, maintain war against them. The loyal people would not sustain or allow it. If questions should remain, we would adjust them by the peaceful means of legislation, conference, courts, and votes, operating only in constitutional and lawful channels. Some certain, and other possible, questions are, and would be, beyond the executive power to adjust—as, for instance, the admission of members into Congress, and whatever might require the appropriation of money. The executive power itself would be greatly diminished by the cessation of actual war. Pardons and remissions of forfeitures, however, would still be within executive control. In what spirit and temper this control would be exercised, can be fairly judged of by the past.

(To a close personal friend of Chase.) I have something to tell you that will make you happy. I have just sent Mr. Chase word that he is to be appointed Chief-Justice, and you are the first man I have told of it.

(Mr. President, this is an exhibition of magnanimity and patriotism that could hardly be expected of any one. After what he has said against your administration, which has undoubtedly been reported to you, it was hardly to be expected that you would bestow the most important office within your gift on such a man.)

Although I may have appeared to you and to Mr. Sumner to have been opposed to Chase's appointment, there never has been a moment since the breath left old Taney's body that I did not conceive it to be the best thing to do to appoint Mr. Chase to that high office; and to have done otherwise I should have been recreant to my convictions of duty to the Republican party and to the country.

As to his talk about me, I do not mind that. Chase is, on the whole, a pretty good fellow and a very able man. His only trouble is that he has "the White House fever" a little too bad, but I hope this may cure him and that he will be satisfied.

(Response to a Serenade.) I believe I shall never be old enough to speak without embarrassment when I have nothing to talk about. I have no good news to tell you, and yet I have no bad news to tell. We have talked of elections until there is nothing more to say about them. The most interesting news we now have is from Sherman. We all know where he went in, but I can't tell where he will come out. I will now close by proposing three cheers for General Sherman and his army.

12th. As to cotton. By the external blockade, the price is made certainly six times as great as it was. And yet the enemy gets through at least one-sixth part as much in a given period, say a year, as if there were no blockade, and receives as much for it as he would for a full crop in time of peace. The effect, in substance, is, that we give him six ordinary crops without the trouble of producing any but the first; and at the

same time leave his fields and his laborers free to produce provisions. You know how this keeps up his armies at home and procures supplies from abroad. For other reasons we can not give up the blockade, and hence it becomes immensely important to us to get the cotton away from him. Better give him guns for it than let him, as now, get both guns and ammunition for it. But even this only presents part of the public interest to get out cotton. Our finances are greatly involved in the matter. The way cotton goes now carries so much gold out of the country as to leave us paper currency only, and that so far depreciated as that for every hard dollar's worth of supplies we obtain, we contract to pay two and a half hard dollars hereafter. This is much to be regretted; and, while I believe we can live through it, at all events it demands an earnest effort on the part of all to correct it. And if pecuniary greed can be made to aid us in such effort, let us be thankful that so much good can be got out of pecuniary greed.

26th. (To General W. T. Sherman.) Many, many thanks for your Christmas gift, the capture of Savannah. When you were about leaving Atlanta for the Atlantic coast, I was anxious, if not fearful; but feeling that you were the better judge, and remembering that "nothing risked, nothing gained," I did not interfere. Now, the undertaking being a success, the honor is all yours, for I believe none of us went further than to acquiesce. And taking the work of General Thomas into the count, as it should be taken, it is indeed a great success. Not only does it afford the obvious and immediate military advantages; but in showing to the world that your army could be divided, putting the stronger part to an important new service, and yet leaving enough to vanquish the old opposing force of the whole—Hood's army—it brings those who sat in darkness to see a great light. But what next? I suppose it will be safe if I leave General Grant and yourself to decide.

Please make my grateful acknowledgments to your whole army, officers and men.

27th. (To Doctor John Maclean.) I have the honor to acknowledge the reception of your note of the 20th of December, conveying the announcement that the trustees of the College of New Jersey had conferred upon me the degree of Doctor of Laws.

The assurance conveyed by this high compliment that the course of the Government which I represent has received the approval of a body of gentlemen of such character and intelligence, in this time of public trial is most grateful to me.

Thoughtful men must feel that the fate of civilization upon this continent is involved in the issue of our contest. Among the most gratifying proofs of this conviction is the hearty devotion everywhere exhibited by our schools and colleges to the national cause.

I am most thankful if my labors have seemed to conduct to the preservation of those institutions under which alone we can expect good government, and in its train, sound learning, and the progress of the liberal arts.

30th. (To Colonel A. J. Warner.) It is said that you were on the court-martial that tried John Lennon, and that you are disposed to advise his being pardoned and sent to his regiment. If this be true, telegraph me to that effect at once.

I have never united myself to any church, because I have found difficulty in giving my assent, without mental reservations, to the long, complicated statement of Christian doctrine which characterize their Articles of Belief and Confessions of Faith. When any church will inscribe over its altar, as its sole qualification for membership, the Saviour's condensed statement of both Law and Gospel, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul and with all thy mind, and thy neighbor as thyself," that church will I join with all my heart and all my soul.*

*Date approximate.

January 18th. (To F. P. Blair, Sr.) You having shown me Mr. Davis' letter to you of the 12th instant, you may say to him that I have constantly been, am now, and shall continue, ready to receive any agent whom he, or any other influential person now resisting the national authority may informally send to me with the view of securing peace to the people of our one common country.

(To General U. S. Grant.) Please read and answer this letter as though I was not President, but only a friend. My son, now in his twenty-second year, having graduated at Harvard, wishes to see something of the war before it ends. I do not wish to put him in the ranks, nor yet to give him a commission, to which those who have already served long are better entitled and better qualified to hold. Could he, without embarrassment to you or detriment to the service, go into your military family with some nominal rank, I, and not the public, furnishing his necessary means? If no, say so without the least hesitation, because I am as anxious and as deeply interested that you shall not be encumbered as you can be yourself.

28th. To-day Mr. Blair tells me that on the 21st instant he delivered to Mr. Davis the original, of which the within [letter to Blair of January 18th] is a copy, and left it with him; that at the time of delivering it Mr. Davis read it over twice in Mr. Blair's presence, at the close of which he (Mr. Blair) remarked that the part about "our one common country" related to the part of Mr. Davis' letter about "the two countries," to which Mr. Davis replied that he so understood it.

30th. (To Major T. T. Eckert.) You will proceed with the documents placed in your hands, and on reaching General Ord will deliver him the letter addressed to him by the Secretary of War; then, by General Ord's assistance, procure an interview with Messrs. Stephens, Hunter, and Campbell, or any of them. Deliver to him or them the paper on which your own letter is written. Note on the copy which you retain the time of delivery and to whom delivered. Receive their answer in writing, waiting a reasonable time for it, and which, if it contain their decision to come through without further condition, will be your warrant to ask General Ord to pass them through as directed in the letter of the Secretary of War to him. If, by their answer they decline to come, or propose other terms, do not have them pass through. And this being your whole duty, return and report to me.

(To Lieutenant-General Grant.) The President desires that you will please procure for the bearer, Major Thomas T. Eckert, an interview with Messrs. Stephens, Hunter, and Campbell, and if, on his return to you, he request it, pass them through our lines to Fortress Monroe, by such route and under such military precautions as you may deem prudent, giving them protection and comfortable quarters while there, and that you let none of this have any effect upon your movements or plans.

(To Secretary Seward.) You will proceed to Fortress Monroe, Va., there to meet and informally confer with Messrs. Stephens, Hunter, and Campbell, on the basis of my letter to F. P. Blair, Esq., on January 18, 1865, a copy of which you have.

You will make known to them that three things are indispensable, to-wit:

1st. The restoration of the national authority throughout all the States.

2nd. No receding by the Executive of the United States

on the slavery question from the position assumed thereon in the late annual message to Congress and in preceding documents.

3rd. No cessation of hostilities short of an end of the war and the disbanding of all forces hostile to the Government.

You will inform them that all propositions of theirs, not inconsistent with the above, will be considered and passed upon in a spirit of sincere liberality. You will hear all they may choose to say and report it to me.

You will not assume to definitely consummate anything.

February 1st. (To General U. S. Grant.) Let nothing which is transpiring change, hinder, or delay your military movements or plans.

The President of the United States has just signed the resolution of Congress, submitting to the Legislatures of the several States a proposition to amend the Constitution of the United States.

2nd. (To Secretary Seward.) Induced by a despatch from General Grant, I join you at Fort Monroe as soon as I can come.

3rd. On the night of the 2nd I reached Hampton Roads, found the Secretary of State and Major Eckert on a steamer anchored offshore, and learned of them that the Richmond gentlemen were on another steamer also anchored offshore, in the Roads; and that the Secretary of State had not yet seen or communicated with them.

On the morning of the 3rd the three gentlemen—Messrs. Stephens, Hunter, and Campbell—came aboard of our steamer, and had an interview with the Secretary of State and myself, of several hours' duration. No question of preliminaries to the meeting was then and there made or mentioned. No other person was present; no papers were exchanged or produced; and it was, in advance, agreed that the conversation was to be informal and verbal merely. On our part the whole substance

of the instructions to the Secretary of State was stated and insisted upon, and nothing was said inconsistent therewith; while, by the other party, it was not said that in any event or on any condition, they ever would consent to reunion, and yet they equally omitted to declare they never would so consent. They seemed to desire a postponement of that question, and the adoption of some other course first, which, as some of them seemed to argue, might or might not lead to reunion, but which course, we thought, would amount to an indefinite postponement. The conference ended without result.

(To Mr. Hunter, in the conference of February 3rd, replying to remarks on the constitutional relations of Charles I and the parliamentary army.) Upon questions of history I must refer you to Mr. Seward, for he is posted in such things, and I don't pretend to be right. My only distinct recollection of the matter is that Charles lost his head.

(Hunter makes the point that the entire Southern Society, without compulsory slave labor, would be irremediably ruined.)

I waited for Seward to answer that argument, but as he was silent, I at length said: "Mr. Hunter, you ought to know a great deal better about this argument than I, for you have always lived under the slave system. I can only say, in reply to your statement of the case, that it reminds me of a man out in Illinois, by the name of Case, who undertook, a few years ago, to raise a very large herd of hogs. It was a great trouble to feed them, and how to get around this was a puzzle to him. At length he hit on the plan of planting an immense field of potatoes, and, when they were sufficiently grown, he turned the whole herd into the field, and let them have full swing, thus saving not only the labor of feeding the hogs, but also that of digging the potatoes. Charmed with his sagacity, he stood one day leaning against the fence, counting his hogs, when a neighbor came along.

"Well, well," said he, "Mr. Case, this is all very fine. Your

hogs are doing very well just now, but you know out here in Illinois the frost comes early, and the ground freezes for a foot deep. Then what you going to do?"

This was a view of the matter which Mr. Case had not taken into account. Butchering time for hogs was 'way on in December or January! He scratched his head, and at length stammered: "'Well, it may come pretty hard on their snouts, but I don't see but that it will be root, hog, or die."

4th. (To the officer in command at Johnson's Island, Ohio.) Parole Lieutenant John A. Stephens, prisoner of war, to report to me here in person, and send him to me. It is in pursuance of an arrangement I made yesterday with his uncle, Honorable A. H. Stephens. Acknowledge receipt.

5th. (Proposed Draft of Message to Congress.) I respectfully recommend that a joint resolution, substantially as follows, be adopted so soon as practicable by your honorable bodies: "Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States is hereby empowered, in his discretion, to pay $400,000,000 to the States of Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia, in the manner and on the conditions following, to wit: The payment to be made in six per cent. government bonds, and to be distributed among the said States *pro rata* on their respective slave populations as shown by the census of 1860, and no part of said sum to be paid unless all resistance to the national authority shall be abandoned and cease, on or before the first day of April next; and upon such abandonment and ceasing of resistance one half of said sum to be paid in manner aforesaid, and the remaining half to be paid only upon the amendment of the National Constitution recently proposed by Congress becoming valid law, on or before the first day of

July next, by the action thereon of the requisite number of States."

The adoption of such resolution is sought with a view to embody it, with other propositions, in a proclamation looking to peace and reunion.

Whereas, a joint resolution has been adopted by Congress, in the words following, to wit:

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do proclaim, declare, and make known, that on the conditions therein stated, the power conferred on the executive in and by said joint resolution will be fully exercised; that war will cease and armies be reduced to a basis of peace; that all political offenses will be pardoned; that all property, except slaves, liable to confiscation or forfeiture, will be released therefrom, except in cases of intervening interests of third parties; and that liberality will be recommended to Congress upon all points not lying within executive control.

[*Indorsement.*]

To-day these papers, which explain themselves, were drawn up and submitted to the Cabinet and unanimously disapproved by them.

8th. (To Congress.) The joint resolution entitled: "Joint resolution declaring certain States not entitled to representation in the Electoral College," has been signed by the Executive, in deference to the view of Congress implied in its passage and presentation to him. In his own view, however, the two Houses of Congress, convened under the twelfth article of the Constitution, have complete power to exclude from counting all electoral votes deemed by them to be illegal, and it is not competent for the Executive to defeat or obstruct that power by a veto, as would be the case if his action were at all essential in the matter. He disclaims all right of the Executive to interfere in any way in the matter of canvassing

or counting electoral votes, and he also disclaims that, by signing said resolution, he has expressed any opinion on the recitals of the preamble, or any judgment of his own upon the subject of the resolution.

9th. (To a Committee of Congress, Reporting the Result of the Electoral Count.) With deep gratitude to my countrymen for this mark of their confidence; with a distrust of my own ability to perform the duty required under the most favorable circumstances, and now rendered doubly difficult by existing national perils; yet with a firm reliance on the strength of our free government, and the eventual loyalty of the people to the just principles upon which it is founded, and above all with an unshakable faith in the Supreme Ruler of nations, I accept this trust. Be pleased to signify this to the respective Houses of Congress.

10th. (To A. H. Stephens.) According to our agreement, your nephew, Lieutenant Stephens, goes to you bearing this note. Please, in return, to select and send to me that officer of the same rank imprisoned at Richmond, whose physical condition most urgently requires his release.

12th. (To General J. Pope.) I understand that provost-marshals in different parts of Missouri are assuming to decide that the conditions of bonds are forfeited, and therefore are seizing and selling property to pay damages. This, if true, is both outrageous and ridiculous. Do not allow it. The courts, and not provost-marshals, are to decide such questions unless when military necessity makes an exception.

20th. (To James Gordon Bennett.) I propose, at some convenient and not distant day, to nominate you to the United States Senate as Minister to France.

It seems that there is now no organized military force of the enemy in Missouri, and yet that destruction of property and life is rampant everywhere. Is not the cure for this within

easy reach of the people themselves? It can not but be that every man not naturally a robber or cut-throat would gladly put an end to this state of things. A large majority in every locality must feel alike upon this subject; and if so, they only need to reach an understanding, one with another. Each leaving all others alone solves the problem; and surely each would do this but for his apprehension that others will not leave him alone. Can not this mischievous distrust be removed? Let the neighborhood meetings be everywhere called and held of all entertaining a sincere purpose for mutual security in the future, whatever they may heretofore have thought, said, or done about the war, or about anything else. Let all such meet, and, waiving all else, pledge each to cease harassing others, and to make common cause against whoever persists in making, aiding, or encouraging further disturbance. The practical means they will best know how to adopt and apply. At such meetings old friendships will cross the memory, and honor and Christian charity will come in to help.

March 3rd. (To Grant, from the Secretary of War.) The President directs me to say that he wishes you to have no conference with General Lee unless it be for capitulation of General Lee's army, or on some minor or purely military matter. He instructs me to say that you are not to decide, discuss, or confer upon any political questions. Such questions the President holds in his own hands, and will submit them to no military conferences or conventions. Meanwhile you are to press to your utmost your military advantages.

4th. (Second Inaugural Address.) At this second appearing to take the oath of the Presidential office, there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then a statement somewhat in detail of a course to be pursued seemed fitting and proper. Now at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great con-

test which still absorbs the attention and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented.

The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself; and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago, all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it, all sought to avert it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it without war—seeking to dissolve the Union, and divide effects, by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war, but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive, and the other would accept war rather than let it perish, and the war came. One-eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the Southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was, somehow, the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union, even by war; while the government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it.

Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding.

Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God, and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces, but

let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered. That of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has His own purposes. Woe unto the world because of offences for it must needs be that offences come, but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh. If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offences which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offence came, shall we discern therein any departure from those Divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.

With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations.

5th. (To Charles Sumner.) I should be pleased for you to accompany us to-morrow evening at ten o'clock on a visit of half an hour to the inaugural ball. I inclose a ticket. Our carriage will call for you at half-past nine.

6th. (To Secretary Seward.) I have some wish that Thomas D. Jones, of Cincinnati, and John J. Piatt, now in this city, should have some of those moderate sized consulates

which facilitate artists a little in their profession. Please watch for chances.

9th. (To Grant.) I see your despatch to the Secretary of War objecting to rebel prisoners being allowed to take the oath and go free. Supposing that I am responsible for what is done in this way, I think fit to say that there is no general rule of action, allowing prisoners to be discharged merely on taking the oath. What has been done is that members of Congress come to me, from time to time, with lists of names, alleging that from personal knowledge, and evidence of reliable persons, they are satisfied that it is safe to discharge the particular persons named on the lists, and I have ordered their discharge. These members are chiefly from the border States, and those they get discharged are their neighbors and neighbors' sons. They tell me that they do not bring to me one-tenth of the names which are brought to them, bringing only such as their knowledge or the proof satisfied them about. I have, on the same principle, discharged some on the representations of others than members of Congress, as, for instance, Governor Johnson, of Tennessee. The number I have discharged has been rather larger than I liked, reaching, I should think, an average of fifty a day since the recent general exchange commenced. On the same grounds, last year, I discharged quite a number at different times, aggregating perhaps a thousand, Missourians and Kentuckians; and their members, returning here since the prisoners' return to their homes, report to me only two cases of proving false. Doubtless some more have proved false, but, on the whole, I believe what I have done in this way has done good, rather than harm.

15th. (To Thurlow Weed.) Every one likes a compliment. Thank you for yours on my little notification speech and on the recent inaugural address.

I expect the latter to wear as well as, perhaps better than, anything I have produced; but I believe it is not immediately

popular. Men are not flattered by being shown that there has been a difference of purpose between the Almighty and them. To deny it, however, in this case is to deny that there is a God governing the world.

It is a truth which I thought needed to be told, and, as whatever of humiliation there is in it falls most directly on myself, I thought others might afford for me to tell it.

17th. There are but few views or aspects of this great war upon which I have not said or written something whereby my own opinions might be known. But there is one—the recent attempt of our erring brethren, as they are sometimes called, to employ the negro to fight for them. I have neither written nor made a speech on that subject, because that was their business, not mine, and if I had a wish upon the subject, I had not the power to introduce it, or make it effective. The great question with them was whether the negro, being put into the army will fight for them. I do not know, and therefore can not decide. They ought to know better than me. I have in my lifetime heard many arguments why the negroes ought to be slaves; but if they fight for those who would keep them in slavery, it would be a better argument than any I have yet heard. He who will fight for that ought to be a slave.

I will say one thing in regard to the negroes being employed to fight for them. I do know he can not fight and stay at home and make bread too. And as one is about as important as the other to them, I don't care which they do. I am rather in favor of having them try them as soldiers. They lack one vote of doing that, and I wish I could send my vote over the river so that I might cast it in favor of allowing the negro to fight. But they can not fight and work both. We must now see the bottom of the enemy's resources. They will stand out as long as they can, and if the negro will fight for them they must allow him to fight. They have drawn upon their last branch of resources, and we can now see the bottom.

(Senator Sumner calls on the President with regard to official business.)

Come to me when I open shop in the morning; I will have the order written and you shall see it.

(Sumner: When do you open shop?)

At nine o'clock.

18th. (Sumner arrives early and receives the desired order. Lincoln asks Sumner if he is familiar with the writings of Petroleum V. Naseby. Sumner is not.)

I must initiate you.

(Lincoln reads aloud from Naseby.)

For the genius to write these things I would gladly give up my office.

I am unwilling for the sentence [of two contractors] to stand, and be executed, to any extent in this case. In the absence of a more adequate motive than the evidence discloses, I am wholly unable to believe in the existence of criminal or fraudulent intent on the part of the men of such well established good character. If the evidence went as far to establish a guilty profit of one or two hundred thousand dollars, as it does of one or two hundred dollars, the case would, on the question of guilt, bear a far different aspect. That on this contract, involving some twelve thousand dollars, the contractors would plan, and attempt to execute a fraud which, at the most could profit them only one or two hundred, or even one thousand dollars, is to my mind beyond the power of rational belief. That they did not, in such a case, make far greater gains, proves that they did not, with guilty or fraudulent intent, make at all. The judgment and sentence are disapproved, and declared null, and the defendants are fully discharged.

20th. (To General U. S. Grant.) Your kind invitation received. Had already thought of going immediately after the next rain. Will go sooner if any reason for it. Mrs. L. and

a few others will probably accompany me. Will notify you of exact time, once it shall be fixed upon.

23rd. (To Grant.) We start to you at 1 P. M. to-day. May lie over during the dark hours of the night. Very small party of us.

25th. City Point.

Arrived here all safe about 9 P. M. yesterday. No war news. General Grant does not seem to know very much about Yeatman, but thinks very well of him so far as he does know.

General Lee has sent the Russell letter back, concluding, as I understand from Grant, that their dignity does not admit of their receiving the document from us. Robert just now tells me there was a little rumpus up the line this morning, ending about where it began.

(To Stanton.) I am here within five miles of the scene of this morning's action. I have nothing to add to what General Meade reports, except that I have seen the prisoners myself, and they look like there might be the number he states—1600.

30th. 7:30 P. M. I begin to feel that I ought to be at home, and yet I dislike to leave without seeing nearer to the end of General Grant's present movement. He has now been out since yesterday morning, and although he has not been diverted from his programme, no considerable effort has yet been produced, so far as we know here. Last night at 10:15 when it was dark as a rainy night without a moon could be, a furious cannonade, soon joined in by a heavy musketry fire, opened near Petersburg and lasted about two hours. The sound was very distinct here as also were the flashes of the guns upon the clouds. It seemed to me a great battle, but the older hands here scarcely noticed it, and sure enough this morning it was found that very little had been done.

31st. At 12:30 P. M. to-day General Grant telegraphed me as follows:

There has been much hard fighting this morning. The enemy drove our left from near Dabney's house back well toward the Boydton plank road. We are now about to take the offensive at that point, and I hope will more than recover the lost ground.

Later he telegraphed again as follows:

Our troops, after being driven back to the Boydton plank road, turned and drove the enemy in turn and took the White Oak road, which we now have. This gives us the ground occupied by the enemy this morning. I will send you a rebel flag captured by our troops in driving the enemy back. There have been four flags captured to-day.

Judging by the two points from which General Grant telegraphs, I infer that he moved his headquarters about one mile since he sent the first of the two despatches.

(To an officer who complained that Sherman had threatened to shoot him.) Threatened to shoot you! Well (in a stage whisper) if I were you, I would keep away from him; if he threatens to shoot, I would not trust him, for I believe he would do it.

April 1st. (To the Secretary of War.) I have had two despatches from General Grant since my last to you, but they contain little additional, except that Sheridan also had pretty hot work yesterday, that infantry was sent to his support during the night, and that he (Grant) has not since heard from Sheridan. Mrs. Lincoln has started home, and I will thank you to see that our coachman is at the Arsenal wharf at 8 o'clock to-morrow morning, there to wait until she arrives.

(To Grant.) Yours showing Sheridan's success of to-day is just received and highly appreciated. Having no great deal to do here, I am still sending the substance of your despatches to the Secretary of War.

2nd. At 4:30 P. M. to-day General Grant telegraphs that he has Petersburg completely enveloped from river below to

river above, and has captured, since he started last Wednesday, about 12,000 prisoners and 50 guns. He suggests that I shall go out and see him in the morning, which I think I will do.

Despatches are frequently coming in. All going finely. Parke, Wright, and Ord's lines are extending from the Appomattox to Hatcher's Run. They have all broken through the enemy's intrenched lines, taking some forts, guns, and prisoners. Sheridan, with his own cavalry, the Fifth Corps, and part of the Second, is coming in from the west on the enemy's flank. Wright is already tearing up the South Side Railroad.

(To Grant.) Allow me to tender to you and all with you the nation's thanks for this additional and magnificent success. At your kind suggestion I think I will meet you to-morrow.

3rd. 8:30 A. M. This morning General Grant reports Petersburg evacuated, and he is confident that Richmond also is. He is pushing forward to cut off, if possible, the retreating rebel army.

5 P. M. Yours received. Thanks for your caution, but I have already been to Petersburg. Stayed with General Grant an hour and a half and returned here. It is certain now that Richmond is in our hands, and I think I will go there to-morrow. I will take care of myself.

(Speaking of a conversation with Grant who wanted to know what he should do if Davis was captured.) About that, I told him the story of an Irishman who had taken the pledge of Fathew Matthew. He became terribly thirsty, applied to a bar-tender for a lemonade, and while it was being prepared whispered to him, "And couldn't ye put a little brandy in it all unbeknown to meself?" I told Grant if he could let Jeff Davis escape all unbeknown to himself, to let him go. I didn't want him.

5th. Richmond.

(Unsigned Memorandum given to J. A. Campbell.) As

to peace, I have said before, and now repeat, that three things are indispensable:

1. The restoration of the national authority throughout the United States.

2. No receding by the executive of the United States on the slavery question from the position assumed thereon in the late annual message, and in preceding documents.

3. No cessation of hostilities short of an end of the war, and the disbanding of all forces hostile to the government. That all propositions coming from those now in hostility to the government, not inconsistent with the foregoing, will be respectfully considered and passed upon in a spirit of sincere liberality.

I now add that it seems useless for me to be more specific with those who will not say that they are ready for the indispensable terms, even on conditions to be named by themselves. If there be any who are ready for these indispensable terms, on any condition whatever, let them say so, and state their conditions, so that the conditions can be known and considered. It is further added, that the remission of confiscation being within the executive power, if the war be now further persisted in by those opposing the government, the making of confiscated property at least to bear the additional cost will be insisted on, but that confiscations (except in case of third party intervening interests) will be remitted to the people of any state which shall now promptly and in good faith withdraw its troops from further resistance to the government. What is now said as to the remission of confiscation has not reference to supposed property in slaves.

6th. City Point. (To Grant.) Secretary Seward was thrown from his carriage yesterday and seriously injured. This, with other matters, will take me to Washington soon. I was at Richmond yesterday and the day before, when and where Judge Campbell, who was with Messrs. Hunter and

Stephens in February, called on me and made such representations as induced me to put in his hands an informal paper, repeating the propositions in my letter of instructions to Mr. Seward, which you remember, and adding that if the war now be further persisted in by the rebels confiscated property shall, at the least, bear the additional cost; and that confiscation shall be remitted to the people of any State which will now, promptly and in good faith, withdraw its troops and other support from resistance to the Government. Judge Campbell thought it not impossible that the rebel Legislature of Virginia would do the latter if permitted, and accordingly I addressed a private letter to General Weitzel, with permission to Judge Campbell to see it, telling him (General W.) that if they attempt this, to permit and protect them, unless they attempt something hostile to the United States, in which case to give them notice and time to leave, and to arrest any remaining after such time.

I do not think it very probable that anything will come of this, but I have thought best to notify you so that if you should see signs you may understand them.

(To General G. Weitzel.) It has been intimated to me that the gentlemen who have acted as the legislature of Virginia, in support of the rebellion, may now desire to assemble at Richmond and take measures to withdraw the Virginia troops and other supports from resistance to the General Government. If they attempt it, give them permission and protection, until, if at all, they attempt some action hostile to the United States, in which case you will notify them, give them reasonable time to leave, and at the end of which time arrest any who remain. Allow Judge Campbell to see this, but do not make it public.

7th. (To General U. S. Grant.) General Sheridan says "If the thing is pressed I think that Lee will surrender." Let the *thing* be pressed.

April 9th. Surrender of Lee.

(While walking through a lonely country graveyard in Virginia with Mrs. Lincoln.) Mary, you are younger than I; you will survive me. When I am gone, lay my remains in some quiet place like this.*

11th. At Washington. (Last Public Address.)

We meet this evening not in sorrow, but in gladness of heart. The evacuation of Petersburg and Richmond, and the surrender of the principal insurgent army, give hope of a righteous and speedy peace, whose joyous expression can not be restrained. In the midst of this, however, He from whom all blessings flow must not be forgotten.

A call for a national thanksgiving is being prepared, and will be duly promulgated. Nor must those whose harder part give us the cause of rejoicing be overlooked. Their honors must not be parceled out with others. I myself was near the front, and had the high pleasure of transmitting much of the good news to you; but no part of the honor for plan or execution is mine. To General Grant, his skilful officers and brave men, all belongs. The gallant navy stood ready, but was not in reach to take active part. By these recent successes the reinauguration of the national authority—reconstruction—which has had a large share of thought from the first, is pressed much more closely upon our attention. It is fraught with great difficulty. Unlike a case of war between independent nations, there is no authorized organ for us to treat with—no one man has authority to give up the rebellion for any other man. We simply must begin with and mold from disorganized and discordant elements. Nor is it a small additional embarrassment that we, the loyal people, differ among ourselves as to the mode, manner, and measure of reconstruction. As a general rule, I abstain from reading the reports of attacks upon myself, wishing not to be provoked by that to which I can not properly offer an answer. In spite of this precaution, however, it

*Date conjectural.

comes to my knowledge that I am much censured for some supposed agency in setting up and seeking to sustain the new State Government of Louisiana. . . .

As to sustaining it, my promise is out, as before stated. But as bad promises are better broken than kept, I shall treat this as a bad promise, and break it whenever I shall be convinced that keeping it is adverse to the public interest; but I have not yet been so convinced. I have been shown a letter on this subject, supposed to be an able one, in which the writer expresses regret that my mind has not seemed to be definitely fixed on the question whether the seceded States, so called, are in the Union or out of it. It would perhaps add astonishment to his regret were he to learn that since I have found professed Union men endeavoring to make that question, I have purposely forborne any public expression upon it. As appears to me, that question has not been, nor yet is, a practically material one, and that any discussion of it, while it thus remains practically immaterial, could have no effect other than the mischievous one of dividing our friends. As yet, whatever it may hereafter become, that question is bad as the basis of a controversy, and good for nothing at all—a merely pernicious abstraction. We all agree that the seceded States, so called, are out of their proper practical relation with the Union, and that the sole object of the Government, civil and military, in regard to those States, is to again get them into that proper relation. I believe that it is not only possible, but in fact easier, to do this without deciding or even considering whether these States have ever been out of the Union, than with it. Finding themselves safely at home, it would be utterly immaterial whether they had ever been abroad. Let us all join in doing the acts necessary to restoring the proper practical relations between these States and the Union, and each forever after innocently indulge his own opinion whether in doing the acts he brought the State from without into the

Union, or only gave them proper assistance, they never having been out of it. The amount of constituency, so to speak, on which the new Louisiana Government rests, would be more satisfactory to all if it contained fifty thousand or thirty thousand, or even twenty thousand, instead of only about twelve thousand, as it does. It is also unsatisfactory to some that the elective franchise is not given to the colored man. I would myself prefer that it were now conferred on the very intelligent, and on those who serve our cause as soldiers. Still, the question is not whether the Louisiana Government, as it stands, is quite all that is desirable. The question is, will it be wiser to take it as it is and help to improve it, or to reject and disperse it? Can Louisiana be brought into proper practical relation with the Union sooner by sustaining or by discarding her new State Government? Some twelve thousand voters in the heretofore slave State of Louisiana have sworn allegiance to the Union, assumed to be the rightful political power of the State, held elections, organized a State Government, adopted a Free-State Constitution, giving the benefit of public schools equally to black and white, and empowering the legislature to confer the elective franchise upon the colored man. Their Legislature has already voted to ratify the Constitutional Amendment recently passed by Congress, abolishing slavery throughout the nation. These twelve thousand persons are thus committed to the Union and to perpetual freedom in the State—committed to the very things, and nearly all the things, the nation wants—and they ask the nation's recognition and its assistance to make good their committal. Now if we reject and spurn them, we do our utmost to disorganize and disperse them. We, in effect, say to the white man, "You are worthless or worse; we will neither help you, nor be helped by you." To the blacks we say, "This cup of liberty which these, your old masters, hold to your lips we will dash from you, and leave you to the chances of gathering the spilled and scattered contents in some

vague and undefined when, where, and how." If this course, discouraging and paralyzing both white and black, has any tendency to bring Louisiana into proper practical relations with the Union, I have so far been unable to perceive it. If, on the contrary, we recognize and sustain the new Government of Louisiana, the converse of all this is made true. We encourage the hearts and nerve the arms of the twelve thousand to adhere to their work, and argue for it, and proselyte for it, and fight for it, and feed it, and grow it, and ripen it to a complete success. The colored man, too, in seeing all united for him, is inspired with vigilance, and energy, and daring, to the same end. Grant that he desires the elective franchise, will he not attain it sooner by saving the already advanced steps toward it than by running backward over them? Concede that the new government of Louisiana is only what it should be as the egg is to the fowl, we shall sooner have the fowl by hatching the egg than by smashing it. Again, if we reject Louisiana, we also reject one vote in favor of the proposed amendment to the National Constitution. To meet this proposition it has been argued that no more than three-fourths of those States which have not attempted secession are necessary to validly ratify the amendment. I do not commit myself against this further than to say that such a ratification would be questionable, and sure to be persistently questioned, while a ratification by three-fourths of all the States would be unquestioned and unquestionable. I repeat the question, Can Louisiana be brought into proper practical relation with the Union sooner by sustaining or by discarding her new State Government? What has been said of Louisiana will apply generally to other States. And yet so great peculiarities pertain to each State, and such important and sudden changes occur in the same State, and withal so new and unprecedented is the whole case that no exclusive and inflexible plan can safely be prescribed as to details and collaterals. Such exclusive and inflexible plan would

surely become a new entanglement. Important principles may and must be inflexible. In the present situation, as the phrase goes, it may be my duty to make some new announcement to the people of the South. I am considering, and shall not fail to act when satisfied that action will be proper.

12th. (To General G. Weitzel.) I have seen your despatch to Colonel Hardie about the matter of prayers. I do not remember hearing prayers spoken of while I was in Richmond; but I have no doubt you have acted in what appeared to you to be the spirit and temper manifested by me while there. Is there any sign of the rebel legislature coming together on the understanding of my letter to you? If there is any such sign, inform me what it is. If there is no such sign you may withdraw the offer.

12th. (Talking with Mrs. Lincoln about a dream he had had in which he beheld a catafalque in the East Room of the White House and heard a voice crying—The President has been assassinated.) The (next) time I opened the Bible, strange as it may appear, it was at the twenty-eighth chapter of Genesis which relates the wonderful dream Jacob had. I turned to other passages and seemed to encounter a dream or a vision wherever I looked. I kept on turning the leaves of the Old Book, and everywhere my eye fell upon passages recording matters strangely in keeping with my own thoughts—supernatural visitations, dreams, visions, etc. (When Lamon seizes the text and preaches upon the danger of assassination, Lincoln laughs at his downright foolishness.)*

(To Major-General Weitzel, Richmond, Virginia.) I have just seen Judge Campbell's letter to you of the 7th. He assumes, as appears to me, that I have called the insurgent legislature of Virginia together, as the rightful Legislature of the State, to settle all differences with the United States. I

*Date conjectural.

have done no such thing. I spoke of them, not as a legislature, but as "the gentlemen who have acted as the Legislature of Virginia in support of the rebellion." I did this on purpose to exclude the assumption that I was recognizing them as a rightful body. I dealt with them as men having power *de facto* to do a specific thing, to wit: "to withdraw the Virginia troops and other support from resistance to the General Government," for which, in the paper handed Judge Campbell, I promised a specific equivalent, to wit: a remission to the people of the State, except in certain cases, of the confiscation of their property. I meant this, and no more. Inasmuch, however, as Judge Campbell misconstrues this, and is still pressing for an armistice, contrary to the explicit statement of the paper I gave him, and particularly as General Grant has since captured the Virginia troops, so that giving a consideration for their withdrawal is no longer applicable, let my letter to you and the paper to Judge Campbell both be withdrawn, or countermanded, and he be notified of it.

Do not allow them to assemble, but if any have come, allow them safe return to their homes.

13th. (To General Creswell who wants a pardon for a Confederate friend of his.) Creswell, you make me think of a lot of young folks who once started out Maying. To reach their destination, they had to cross a shallow stream, and did so by means of an old flat-boat. When the time came to return, they found to their dismay that the old scow had disappeared. They were in sore trouble, and thought over all manner of devices for getting over the water, but without avail.

After a time, one of the boys proposed that each fellow should pick up the girl he liked best and wade over with her. The masterly proposition was carried out, until all that were left upon the island was a little short chap and a great, long, gothic-built, elderly lady.

Now, Creswell, you are trying to leave me in the same predicament. You fellows are all getting your own friends out of this scrape; and you will succeed in carrying off one after another, until nobody but Jeff Davis and myself will be left on the island, and then I won't know what to do. How should I feel? How should I look, lugging him over?

I guess the way to avoid such an embarrassing situation is to let them all out at once.*

14th. (To the Cabinet.) I hope there will be no persecution, no bloody work after the war is over. None need expect me to take any part in hanging or killing them. Frighten them out of the country, let down the bars, scare them off. Enough lives have been sacrificed. We must extinguish our resentment if we expect harmony and union. There is too much desire on the part of our very good friends to be masters, to interfere with and dictate to those states, to treat the people not as fellow citizens; there is too little respect for the right. I don't sympathize with those feelings.

(Addressing Secretary Welles while recounting a strange dream he had had the night before.) It was in your department. It related to the water. I seemed to be in a singular and indescribable vessel that was moving with great rapidity toward a dark and indefinite shore. I had this same dream preceding the firing on Sumter, the battles of Bull Run, Antietam, Gettysburg, Stone River, Vicksburg, Wilmington and others. Though victory has not always followed it, some important event has. I have no doubt, this time, that a battle has taken place or is about to be fought and that Johnson will be beaten. My dream must relate to Sherman. My thoughts are in that direction and I know of no other very important event which is very likely just now to occur.

*Date conjectural.

(To Charles A. Dana, who reports that Jacob Thompson, Confederate secret agent, is known to be in Portland.) What does Stanton say?

(Dana: Arrest him.)

Well, I rather guess not. When you have an elephant on hand and he wants to run away, better let him run.

(To Lamon, who has asked him to sign a pardon.) Do you know how the Patagonians eat oysters?

(No, I do not, Mr. Lincoln.)

It is their habit to open them as fast as they can and throw the shells out of the window, and when the pile of shells grows to be higher than the house, why, they pick up stakes and move. Now, Lamon, I felt like beginning a new pile of pardons, and I guess this is a good one to begin on.

(While driving with Mrs. Lincoln.) We have had a hard time since we came to Washington, but the war is over, and with God's blessings, we may hope for four years of peace and happiness, and then we will go back to Illinois and pass the rest of our lives in quiet. We have laid by some money, and during this time, we will save up more, but shall not have enough to support us. We will go back to Illinois. I will open a law office at Springfield or Chicago and practise law, and at least do enough to help give us a livelihood.

(To General Van Alen.) I intend to adopt the advice of my friends and use due precaution . . . I thank you for the assurance you give me that I shall be supported by conservative men like yourself, in the efforts I may make to restore the Union, so as to make it, to use your language, a Union of hearts and hands as well as of States.

Assassinated.

15th. Death of Lincoln.

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